National Library
of Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Services des thèses canadiennes

CANADIAN THESES

THÈSES CANADIENNES

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

NL 339 (r. 86/01)

Canada

78

National Library of Canada
Canadian Theses Division
Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Division des thèses canadiennes

0-315-24816-5

PERMISSION TO MICROFILM — AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

- Please print or type — Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographier

Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur
RICHARDSON JOHN BRUCE

Date of Birth — Date de naissance
DEC. 6, 1961

Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance
CANADA

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe
206 23330 Twp. Rd. 522 Sherwood Park, Alta. T8B 1H8

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse
The Wanderer, An Old English Wisdom Poem.

University — Université
University of Alberta

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée
Masters

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade
1984

Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse
L.N. McKill

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

Date
July 17, 1984

Signature
J Richardson

NL-91 (4/77)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE WANDERER: AN OLD ENGLISH WISDOM POEM

by

JOHN RICHARDSON

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
FALL, 1984

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

JOHN RICHARDSON

THE WANDERER: AN OLD ENGLISH WISDOM POEM

M. A. (ENGLISH)

1984

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

J Richardson

206-23330 twp. rd. 522
Sherwood Park, Alberta
T8B 1H8

DATED July 13 1984

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled The Wanderer: An Old English Wisdom Poem submitted by John Richardson in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Larry D. [illegible]
Supervisor

Raymond J. S. Grant

Robert J. Buck

Date. July 13, 1984

Abstract

This study of The Wanderer in the context of the category of wisdom literature is made up of three parts. The first is a review of the principal trends in the criticism of the poem, concentrating on structural and generic considerations. As well, it considers past interpretations of the poem, from searches for artifacts of Anglo-Saxon society to more recent allegorical studies.

The second part discusses the manuscript context of the poem, paying special attention to the nine poems which follow The Wanderer, and to scribal divisions. The nine poems are similar in tone and length to The Wanderer.

The third section provides a critical reading of the poem as an example of wisdom literature.

Table of Contents

Introduction..........1

Chapter One: The Critical Tradition..........3

Chapter Two: Wisdom Literature and the Manuscript Context..........38

Chapter Three: A Reading of _The Wanderer_..........73

Conclusion..........112

Notes to Chapter One..........114

Notes to Chapter Two..........124

Notes to Chapter Three..........130

Bibliography..........137

Introduction

This study provides a critical reading of The Wanderer within the context of wisdom literature, a type of literature distinguished primarily by its didactic purpose rather than by any particular formal or generic consideration. The Exeter Book, the manuscript that contains The Wanderer, comprises a large number of poems, some similar in length, tone and didactic purpose to The Wanderer. These poems provide a readily available body of verse to which The Wanderer may be compared and contrasted.

Chapter II examines the critical problems of The Wanderer, particularly those relating to its structure and generic classification, as well as to questions of unity. It also considers past interpretations of the poem from the early discussions of the poem as a reflection of actual Anglo-Saxon life to the more recent interpretation of the poem as allegory.

Chapter III discusses scribal divisions and the ordering and contents of the manuscript, in particular the group of ten poems which begins with The Wanderer and ends with The Riming Poem. These poems are framed by Juliana, a long Christian narrative poem, and by the Old English Physiologus, which although related to the wisdom poems by its didacticism, stands apart as an offshoot of the Latin tradition. The ten poems are similar in tone and length, although the literary quality is uneven. As well, these poems are didactic, providing an ideal body of poetry on which to base a discussion of Old English wisdom poetry.

The fourth chapter provides a critical reading of The Wanderer in terms of its poetic context in wisdom literature, particularly applied to some of the problematic passages of the poem. The reading demonstrates the poem's richness which is frequently lost to interpretatations relying too heavily on rigid generic considerations or on allegorical explanations.

Chapter One: The Critical Tradition

The Old English poem now commonly titled *The Wanderer* is preserved in a single copy on folios 76b to 78a of the manuscript catalogued by Ker as Exeter, Cathedral 3501, but more commonly referred to simply as the *Exeter Book*.[1] The manuscript has been housed since 1072, if not earlier, in the library of Exeter Cathedral, now administered by the University of Exeter.[2] Part of a large collection of books donated by Leofric, the first bishop of Exeter, to his new chapter, the manuscript is described in a list of Leofric's donations as *·i· mycel Englisc boc be gehwilcum þingum on leoðwisan geworht* 'one large English book about various things made in the form of poetry.'[3]

The entire book has been published in five more or less complete editions, two German and three English,[4] and in a single facsimile edition published in limited number under the direction of Exeter Cathedral.[5] There have been numerous studies of the manuscript as well as individual editions of poems, including two of *The Wanderer*.[6]

The Wanderer was given its title by Benjamin Thorpe in the first edition of the manuscript, published in 1842, a title retained ever since by the vast majority of scholars.[7] Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, Thorpe's edition illustrates the earliest tendency of Old English literary criticism to see the poetry primarily as an historical document. The interest among these early critics was to discover evidence of the lives of pre-Christian Germanic peoples.[8] C. C. Ferrell, a member of this school, writes:

> The 'Wanderer' with the exception of a half-dozen verses at the begining and as many at the close, is heathen to the core and shows almost no trace of Christian influence. . . .[9]

In modern times Humfrey Wanley, in Hickes' Thesaurus, first describes the Exeter Book.[10] The Wanderer is referred to only as a part of book VII of Wanley's division of the manuscript: septem constans Capitibus, tractans de Passione S. Julianae sub Maximiano Caesare, etc. 'composed of seven chapters dealing with the passion of Saint Juliana under Maximianus Caesar, etc.'[11] Wanley's book VIII, which contains The Gifts of Men, Precepts, The Seafarer (often associated with The Wanderer) and Vainglory, is described as: 4 constans Capp. Homil. sive Concioni similis, rem tractat Theologicam 'composed in four chapters. Homiletic or in the form of a speech, treating a theological matter.[12] Wanley is aware of the basically religious nature of the poems, although he inexplicably places The Wanderer at the end of the section which principally comprises a narrative of Saint Juliana's martyrdom. This placement dissociates The Wanderer from the poems which follow it, such as Precepts, The Gifts of Men, The Seafarer, Maxims I and The Order of the World, which are closely related to it. Before condemning Wanley's divisions as arbitrary, one must remember that

Thorpe's divisions and titles are similarly arbitrary, having little or no foundation on the manuscript. While there are divisions in the manuscript, they do not only distinguish poems: the first seventeen divisions occur in what is either a single poem or a group of three closely related poems, Christ, whereas there is no division between Riddles 1 and 2, for example. Furthermore, the verbal break between what have been seen as separate poems is not always as strong as one might expect.[13] Altogether, the Exeter Book, despite clear scribal divisions, is not greatly divided in content. United in their didacticism, the poems in the manuscript are similar in both tone and subject matter.

But the poems do have differences: the Riddles stand on their own, a vernacular extension of the Medieval genre of anigmae.[14] The long Christian narratives such as Guthlac and Juliana form another part of the manuscript. Framed in the manuscript by the long poems and the Riddles are the short poems. These poems are, for the most part, brief expressions of various types of wisdom, some impersonally presented and some presented by the typical figure of the wise man. The Wanderer is one of these shorter wisdom poems.

Although critics have occasionally acknowledged the importance of understanding the genre of wisdom literature in relation to The Wanderer,[15] no extended study of the poem within this context has been forthcoming. This lack is disappointing considering, on the one hand, the great number of critical studies of the poem which have appeared in the last century and a half, and, on the other hand, the similar nature of the short poems in the manuscript which immediately follow The Wanderer. As well, critics have realized that Leofric's donation of the Exeter Book was probably "due not to any interest on the part of Leofric in English poetry"[16] but rather to a concern with instructing the members of his chapter. But critics have long sought ~~to~~ understand the poem as a work of self-expression, as a poem turned inward in intention as well as in its initial imagery.[17] The first half of The Wanderer concerns the individual mind and turns inward to examine memories. This internalization is emphasized by words of restraint such as faeste bind 'bind fast' (13b), usually applied to the mind. The impression a modern reader receives from the first half of the poem is one of deep meditation. The second half of the poem is still largely based on memory, but the imagery and diction explode into the world beyond the speaker, moving beyond the range of individual experience into the area of traditional wisdom. As well, the context of the poem, in a clearly didactic manuscript which is itself a part of a nearly wholly didactic collection of books, suggests that the speaker of The Wanderer turns his attention outside himself toward others. As is true of the other poems in the collection, The Wanderer is concerned with aiding others more than it is with mere self-consolation.

Today, The Wanderer, as Rosemary Woolf writes, is usually referred to as an elegy.[18] While Woolf goes on to argue that the medieval genre of planctus might be more appropriately applied to The Wanderer, her statement that the use of the term elegy prevails indicates the power the term yet has in Old English studies. Dunning and Bliss state without qualification that for the Anglo-Saxons "there was only one poetic tradition, the heroic,"[19] but they also consider the poem to be a part of the genre of consolatio.[20] T. A. Shippey writes of the "small group from the Exeter Book usually known as 'the elegies', a term vague enough to be unoffensive if unhelpful."[21] Elegy, consolatio and planctus are the three major proposed genres into which critics have placed The Wanderer. Of the three, elegy has seniority, deriving ultimately from Thorpe's description in 1842 of the poem as a "lament," and from Conybeare's description of The Wife's Lament as "of an elegiac character."[22] Consolatio was first rigorously advanced by J. E. Cross in 1961,[23] and planctus by Woolf in 1975. Although some scholars have accepted Cross' proposal[24] and some will likely accept Woolf's, it is unlikely that the term elegy will ever be dissociated from the poem. Timmer, in 1942, rejected the term in application to all Old English poems except two,[25] but the term still maintains its grip. Greenfield writes of "The Old English Elegies" in 1966,[26] and 1983 saw the publication of a collection of new critical articles titled The Old English Elegies.[27]

Perhaps the prevalence of the term is, as Shippey suggests, due to its vagueness and inoffensiveness. It is a convenient label for a group of poems which critics sense are related but which have defied rigid definition. A number of critics have attempted to formulate a definition of Old English elegy which is able to accommodate the poems more generally agreed to be related, but none has proven wholly satisfactory, and none has in any way explained how the "elegies" are related to the less frequently studied poems which surround them in the Exeter Book. But the attempts to define can serve in their failure to bring into sharper focus important aspects of The Wanderer and of other poems, and show what makes these poems something other than the term elegy would suggest.

Greenfield proposes the following definition of an elegy:

> We may perhaps formulate a definition of the Old English Elegy as a relatively short reflective or dramatic poem embodying a contrasting pattern of loss and consolation, ostensibly based upon specific personal experience or observation, and expressing an attitude towards that experience.[28]

Although this definition is extremely general, it cannot accommodate the so-called Old English elegies: The Ruin, at least in its fragmented state, contains no consolation, and The Husband's Message does not contrast loss and consolation so much as it does loss and restoration. While the reader of The Wanderer seems to be intended to interpret the ethopoeic figures as reflections of the speaker's personality, the fact of the poem is that the speaker describes few "specific personal experiences." Critics have assumed that the speaker is constructing his descriptions on the basis of personal experiences, but for the most part he masks those experiences.

A noticeable aspect of Greenfield's definition is the lack of any requirement for lamentation either in tone or description. While modern readers would usually understand an elegy to be inspired by a death, to begin with lamentation and eventually, perhaps, to arrive at a consolation, Greenfield's argument is that the "elegy" is a poem concerned largely with experience and attitudes toward experience. Greenfield's definition points toward understanding The Wanderer and the poems related to it as examples of responses available to a man confronted with the world. What Greenfield's definition does not allow for are the long passages in The Wanderer which have nothing to do with personal experience, passages which are usually termed "gnomic statements."[29] Elsewhere Greenfield mentions the presence of a "gnomic mood" in The Wanderer, but he does not clarify whether what is involved is a jump in mood from the elegiac or a sub-mood of the elegiac.[30]

Alvin Lee offers a more detailed definition of the Old English elegy, which concludes with the remark that

> The essential element is always a melancholy sense of the passing away of something desirable, whether that someting be a life, a civilization, a human relationship, a beloved object or activity, or perhaps a state of spiritual or emotional harmony. Elegy involves a frustration of human desire, followed by a sense of unhappiness or misery, which, if the mood is allowed to develop, will probably take the form of lamentation or sympathetic utterance in relation to the object of desire.[31]

While much of what Lee writes is true of The Wanderer, much is left out, most importantly, the fact that the greatest of human desires, to find comfort, is fulfilled in the poem. Certainly for much of the poem a tone of melancholy pervades, but in retrospect there comes a realization that the speaker is himself looking at past sadness, not present, and that he is, as he concludes his speech, as happy as a wise man can truly be in *this* world.

What is surprising about Lee's definition is that he does not mention the consolation which Greenfield considers so important and which is present in The Wanderer. One must reconcile the fact that, on the one hand, the "consolation" of The Wanderer is a vital part of the poem, but, on the other hand, it has no place in The Ruin, another elegy. One might argue that The Ruin is too fragmented, that it might have included a consolation in its original form before the manuscript was damaged. But what little remains of the concluding eight lines of the poem suggests that what is lost only continues the description of the ruined city and does not provide a consolation. The portion which includes the complete half-lines 46b and 48b, *þaer þa baþu waeron* 'there the baths were,' and *þaet is cynelic þing* 'that is a kingly thing,' suggests a restatement of the passage only a few lines previous: *þaer þa baþu waeron,/ hat on hreþre. Þaet waes hydelic* 'there the baths were, hot at the centre. That was proper' (40b-41). Although the damaged manuscript offers no conclusive proof that a consolation was not present, the meager evidence suggests that the poem was never more than a powerful description of crumbling ruins.

The Wanderer, however, is much more than simply powerful description. Even a cursory reading of the poem shows a much more complicated and carefully organized structure than that of *The Ruin*. The poet interrupts the speaker at only two points, the beginning and end. These two parts of the poem are well balanced descriptions of typical figures, the first of a man who suffers, the last of a man who finds *frofre to Faeder on heofonum* 'comfort with the Father in Heaven' (115a). Between these framing poetic remarks, a fictional *eardstapa* 'wanderer', literally 'earth-stepper' (6a) speaks to the audience, describing his pain and difficulty in an open boat on the winter sea. He has lost his lord and protector and can find no one to comfort him (26-29a). The wanderer describes at length the difficulty he has endured during his time of exile. In this description, he creates an imaginary exile, who is thought by most critics to represent the wanderer himself. The first part of the poem ends with a low note of renewed sorrow (55b), and critics feel that the wanderer himself despairs at this point.[32]

A sudden shift is generally seen at some point between line 57 and 73, but there is little agreement on the exact location of the break. The perceived leap in the pattern of thought has caused a number of critics to argue that sometime during the transmission of the text leaves were misplaced, and so The Wanderer as we have it is actually a number of unrelated passages from separate poems.[33] The two halves of the poem are demonstrably different, not least in the difference between the fictional characters described. In the second half of the poem a solitary wise man replaces the exile. This wise man slowly works the wanderer back from despair through the contemplation of ruins. But even the wise man does not find complete consolation, ending with a conventional lament and resignation to the inevitability of decay (106-110). The poet is left to provide the final consolation, which is a turning to God. This consolation was seen by many early critics as a sop to Christianity, perhaps a scribal interpolation after the body of the poem, lines 8 to 110, was written.[34]

The lack of punctuation in the manuscript has left editors free to divide the poem into virtually whatever speech-blocks they feel to be correct. The result is that few editors agree on where speeches begin and end or even on who the speaker is at any given point. The general outline of the poem is clear, however: the first half describes the exile figure alone at sea in the winter, watching the seabirds; the second presents a wise man standing alone in the ruins of a hall, considering the mutability of the world. Lines 8 to 110 are framed by references to God, who provides the consolation in the poem.[35] Even a casual reading of the poem clearly indicates that the poem is more than simply a realistic description of an actual exile.

What then is the connection between _The Ruin_ and _The Wanderer_? Clearly, as Greenfield points out, _The Wanderer_ is the more complex poem.[36] While _The Ruin_ simply describes the decaying city and its dead inhabitants, _The Wanderer_ uses the images of the ruins as a part of a more sophisticated construction in which the decay of man, of his cities, and of his world are linked to each other and contrasted to the one form of immutability, God. But the theme of immutability pervades _The Wanderer_ as much as that of mutability does _The Ruin_.[37] While the image of decay is common to both poems, the effects they produce are too much different to be accommodated by a single genre.[38] The link between the two poems is based primarily on the single common image of decay, an image which prompts a very different response in each poem. While the philosophical tone of _The Ruin_ sinks down in pessimism, for the most part, that of The Wanderer rises, beginning with the dark sorrow of exile and ending with the bright hope of security.

The theme of exile, discussed at length since Greenfield first began emphasizing its importance,[39] occupies a more important part of The Wanderer than the image of decay which alone links The Wanderer and The Ruin. The Ruin contains no indication of the exile theme so central to The Wanderer. In recent criticism the theme of exile has been receiving more emphasis. Leonard H. Frey, in 1963, demonstrates its conventional use in "Christian epic poetry," such as Christ, Genesis, and Guthlac.[40] Frey writes that "The Wanderer demonstrates the whole pattern" of the exile theme.[41] It may be dangerous to isolate one poem as the perfect manifestation of a conventional form, but Frey's statement is true in a sense: The Wanderer does contain all of the four elements Greenfield isolated,[42] but so do most poems which involve the exile theme.[43] It is important to note that while The Wanderer contains the central image of The Ruin, The Ruin does not have the elements of the exile theme. Although critics have called both poems elegies, the relationship between the poems is distant at best. The descriptive nature of The Ruin actually seems closer to the Riddles than it does to The Wanderer, which tends toward description of thought and nature rather than of concrete artificial structures.[44]

Frey's article demonstrates that the atmosphere of hardship pervading the "elegies" does not indicate a genre but is a part of Greenfield's "theme of exile." The theme[45] is equally at home in any type of Old English poetry, not being confined to the "elegies," which are, as a group, of uneven tone and atmosphere. One cannot speak of a genre of "exile poetry" any more than of a genre of "battle poetry": the theme of exile and the themes associated with battle are tools used by the Anglo-Saxon poets in varying contexts, from the heroic-elegiac Beowulf to Genesis A, seen by many to be a mere biblical paraphrase. One must remember, too, that exile imagery virtually disappears from The Wanderer after the first sixty-three lines. Of those sixty three lines, seven are taken up with gnomic statements. In short, more than half the poem is not directly concerned with exile. Parts of this larger portion are taken up by various forms: gnomic statements; a description of the world, which has the texture of a Doomsday scene[46]; and the homiletic consolation of the conclusion.

But to base a generic distinction on the final consolation may be unnecessarily narrow: Cross' careful argument in favour of seeing The Wanderer as an example of the medieval genre of the consolatio[47] contains a number of flaws, not the least of which is his dismissal of lines 58 to 61:

> Forþon ic geþencan ne maeg   geond þas woruld
> forhwan modsefa   min ne gesweorce,

> þonne ic eorla lif   eal geondþence. . . .

To Cross, "the phrasing of this statement suggests that it is a doubting answer to the consolation which is in his mind" (p. 67). But Cross quotes in translation, losing the metrical emphasis of the original. Cross translates:

> Truly I cannot imagine (anyreason) in the world why my mind should not be saddened when I fully consider the lives of men. (p.67)

I would suggest the following more accurate translation, with metrical emphasis marked:

> Truly, I am not able to think of (any reason) in *this* world for which my heart should not grow dark when I consider all the lives of men.

The difference is perhaps subtle, but it is fundamental. The emphasis unusually placed on the demonstrative *þas* 'this' suggests an awareness in the speaker's mind of another world where there is a reason that his mind should not grow dark, presumably the Heaven described at the end of the poem. The subjunctive *ne gesweorce* 'should not grow dark,' contrary to Cross's feeling, suggests that the speaker is, as he gives voice to his thoughts, already consoled, and that his doubt concerns not the "consolation which is in his mind," but any consolation of *this* world. His mind does not grow dark, but there is no worldly reason that it should not.

Far from next considering "other men and other events" as Cross suggests (p. 68), the speaker does not turn from the personal to the general after his dissatisfaction with the first consolation. Rather, he makes a clear link between the personal and general consolations, showing the incompleteness of both:

> . . . þonne ic eorla lif   eal geondþence,
> hu hi faerlice   flet ofgeafon,
> modge maguþegnas.   Swa þes middangeard
> ealra dogra gehwam   dreoseð ond feallep.(61-4)

> (. . . when I consider the lives of men fully, how they nobly gave up the floor [of the hall], the bold retainers. Just so the earth every day grows weak and falls.)

Before the "consolatory _topoi_" (p. 68) of the second half of the poem are put forward, the speaker has discarded the idea of worldly consolation. If Cross is correct in seeing _The Wanderer_ as a _consolatio_, the poem must be considered a flawed example of its genre, for most of the second half is a dull redundancy. By line 63 the conclusion of the poem, that true consolation does not lie in _this_ world but in the next, has been reached. The metrical stress of line 58 indicates that the second half of the poem is the speech of a man who already knows where consolation is to be found, not a gradual progression from unsatisfactory secular consolation to satisfactory divine consolation, as Cross argues; the speaker from the beginning is aware of the divine consolation.

The fact that a man remembers sorrow and still may feel it himself does not indicate that he does not have an overriding hope. It is out of this fact that the fundamental flaw in Cross' argument grows: the genre of consolatio would seem to require a progress within the speaker's mind from sorrow toward consolation (p. 71), but such does not occur in The Wanderer. Although the intention of the poem is undoubtedly to demonstrate where true security lies, the speaker is not one of those who must learn: he stands before us a wise man, and it is his wisdom he seeks to transmit. His main purpose is not to cure his own pain. As Susie Tucker has written in response to Greenfield, if "the poem says nothing about the Christian belief in Grace and Salvation as an antidote to this transitory world, why should it?"[48] The wise man does not wish to cure sorrow--he cannot do that--he merely wishes to transmit the wisdom which will allow rejoicing alongside sorrow.

This understanding makes the poem something other than a consolatio. The wise man who speaks the ubi sunt lament at the end of the poem is clearly aware of the "consolation" in the final few lines, but he still finds room in his heart to cry "Alas, bright cup!" (94a). There is a contrast here between the comfort to be found with God and the sorrow felt at the passing of the world, a contrast between feelings which can exist together in a wise man. The consolatio of which Cross speaks is actually no consolation; rather, the poet provides a little wisdom which tempers by contrast but which does not replace a man's sorrowful response to life.

This sorrowful response is an outgrowth of the theme of exile, which, although not explicit throughout the poem, sets the scene which stands as a background, colouring responses throughout the poem.

The theme of exile is obviously a part of The Wanderer, but the presence of a theme cannot provide the basis of generic classification. The prevalence of the theme of exile, turning up in Beowulf, Christ, Andreas, Genesis, The Wanderer and Maxims I[49] to name a few, suggests that it is an element at home in all types of poetry, from Beowulf to the gnomic Maxims I. Like the term "elegy," a theoretical genre of exile poetry is not very productive: poems in obviously different genres contain elements which are both elegiac and a part of the exile theme. One cannot usefully classify poems simply by the presence or absence of a theme. For example, the theme of Apocalypse has been seen, like elegy and exile, in both The Wanderer and Beowulf,[50] and it clearly occurs in the Judgement Day poems,[51] but one can hardly speak of a genre of Old English apocalyptic poetry.

While the heroic poems are related to a poem such as The Wanderer by common themes, it is clear that The Wanderer and Beowulf, for example, stand somewhat removed from each other, and that the difference is something more than simply a separation of narrative and lyric: Beowulf contains imbedded lyricism[52] and The Wanderer contains enough narrative that elaborate motivations have been postulated for the exile.[53] The complicated mix that is Old English poetry can quite easily be sorted to a certain extent: Beowulf is a secular heroic narrative whereas Andreas is a Christian heroic narrative. This division is one primarily of subject matter rather than of form or style. Despite M. D. Cherniss' argument against seeing Old English poetry as a "single, homogeneous body of work,"[54] stylistically and formally the poetic corpus is remarkably homogeneous: Lee writes of "an overall poetic mythology or verbal world" lying behind all of the poetry.[55] This homogeneity of form and background makes finer generic distinctions difficult; in a very real sense, there is only one genre in Old English: didactic poetry.

While the remarkable unity of the poetic corpus has largely been accepted, the unity of individual poems, The Wanderer included, has been often debated. Perceived leaps in the progress of thought give some critics difficulty, contributing to a desire to dissect, or to a tendency to propose elaborate theories of dialogue structure,[56] although Lawrence pointed out quite correctly at the beginning of the century that

> It was characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon poetic temperment to introduce and reintroduce certain leading conceptions in more or less irregular succession. This gave rise to frequent repetitions of thought, not altogether unsuited to reflective or

> descriptive poetry of the type to which the *Seafarer* belongs.[57]

Lawrence later calls *The Wanderer* "a poem of strikingly similar mood" to *The Seafarer*[58]; one would not be misconstruing Lawrence to refer the quotation above to *The Wanderer* as well. In spite of Lawrence's argument in favour of seeing unity in these "reflective or descriptive" poems, dialogue and reconstruction theories have appeared at intervals since his paper.

In reaction to restructuring and dialogue theories, and in response to perceived difficulties in the progression of the text, many theories of the structure of the poem have appeared, all seeking to show that there is, in fact, a logical progression of thought in *The Wanderer*. B. F. Huppé proposed that the poem had its roots in the rhetorical figure of *ethopoeia*,[59] an idea adopted by Greenfield and W. F. Klein.[60] This proposal was new only in the application of the Latin rhetorical term; Lawrence had noticed the ethopoeic nature of the poem and described it with his more homely term, "men of straw."[61] But Huppé proceeds further, schematizing ~~the~~ structure of *The Wanderer*, proposing an elaborate construction consisting, ~~in~~ its skeletal form, of an introduction, the wanderer's monologue, the wise man's monologue, a conclusion, and a "bridge passage" which could be divided into three parts, the central one of which could be divided again into three parts.[62] Huppé argues that the two speeches contrast a man in despair because he longs for material pleasures with one who has great hope because he knows that the only security lies with God. But it will be seen that the wanderer at the opening of the poem is not in despair, and that toward the end of the poem he has not renounced earthly pleasure.

T. C. Rumble, partly in response to Huppé, partly to D. W. Robertson,[63] suggests that the poem is a soliloquy rather than either a pair of monologues or a full four-fold allegory.[64] Rumble argues that during this soliloquy, "while sitting _sundor aet rune_, the _eardstapa_ may emerge a _snottor on mode_."[65] Bliss and Dunning accept Rumble's interpretation, writing that "the poem presents the development of the _eardstapa_, through meditation as _anhoga_ on his lot, from _modcearig_ to _snottor on mode_."[66] But R. F. Leslie argues against seeing a progression in the "present" of the poem: "It is important to note the use of the past tense; the wanderer no longer 'stands in the midst of sorrow' as has been claimed."[67] Although Bruce Mitchell argues against taking the verb _sceolde_ in line 8 as a preterite rather than a progressive, he does not rule out the possibility that Leslie is correct.[68] The possibility that the verb indicates the troubles to be over, as Leslie suggests, points to interpreting the poem as the words of a man who has attained wisdom and who is relating it to an audience which in the world of the poem, ironically, may not exist, having fallen in death.

While his view of the poet's opinion of the *snottor* differs from most critics', W. F. Klein agrees with Leslie that the intellectual movement of the poem is not a straight-line progression, but that it is, perhaps, circular, that the conclusion is known and implied from the outset:

> In the last line and a half, clearly echoing the first line and a half, the speaker offers, with an authority derived from a truly capacious vision of human possibility and with a devastating modesty and economy, the last and only real alternative, a turning--which is a rhetorically emphasized re-turning--to the Father in Heaven.[69]

Critical discussions such as Klein's and Leslie's have brought us to view the poem as an examination and affirmation of a simple statement which opens the poem, a statement which is made somewhat in the form of a gnome: *Oft him anhaga are gebided / Metudes miltse* 'Often the solitary experiences mercy, the favour of God' (1-2a). Klein argues that the body of the poem is a series of suggested "responses" a man might make to the world, possible courses of action based on three faculties of the mind: memory, present perception, and volitional futurity.[70] In Klein's view, all responses are unsatisfactory, including that of the *snottor*, which leads to something near despair. Klein sees the concluding turning to God as a sudden shift, as a "re-turning" to God, the only alternative left. In Klein's interpretation true wisdom lies with none of the "straw men" or "ethopoeic fictions," but with the framing voice alone, which has been taken by various critics to be the poet, a fictitious speaker, or both.[71]

Generic classifications based on form or style have not proved useful, but a picture of The Wanderer is emerging from the structural and interpretive criticism which shows that the poem derives its unity not from a conventional form but from a very direct philosophical thrust. The understanding of the persona as a figure aware of the answer before he presents his questions forces the reader to discard any notion of character development in The Wanderer: the purpose of the poem is to teach the audience, using the typical figure of a wise man.

A concern with teaching is reflected in The Wanderer by the great emphasis on the complex of words which surround the mind and thoughts of man in Old English: mod, hyge, sefan, gaest, mynd and wil, for example. It is to the mind that the wanderer appeals, careful to describe the various functions which can both help and hinder a man's understanding. Klein's three faculties are represented in the poem by what he calls "purpose words."[72] Doubleday names these faculties by the Latin words memoria, intelligentia and voluntas.[73] He traces "the process by which the soul attains to consolation and security" (p.189) in a different way from Klein, seeing a gradual progression from sorrow to consolation:

> The poem, in brief, moves through three major stages. In the first, the speaker recalls his past hardships. But in venting his grief, as in opening a wound, the healing process begins; and by the end of this first stage, the speaker is brought to a state of comparative calm. In the second stage, he comes to understand fully that his lot is part of the general mutability of the world and not a cause for special grief. In the third stage, he perceives the remedy for that mutability in the grace of the unchanging Lord and ardently desires to seek that remedy. In going through these three stages, the speaker attains consolation. (p. 193)

Doubleday's argument hinges on the view that the speaker begins the poem in sadness. To prove this view, Doubleday begins his argument with a very questionable assertion concerning the speaker's attitude: "The speaker begins the poem by bewailing his grief and blaming fate for his troubles" (p. 189). To counter Doubleday's argument, one must recall the opening nine lines of the poem:

> Oft him anhaga are gebideð,
> Metudes miltse, þeah þe he modcearig
> geond lagulade longe sceolde
> hreran mid hondum hrimcealde sae,
> wadan wraeclastas. Wyrd bið ful araed!
> Swa cwaeð eardstapa, earfeþa gemyndig,
> wraþra waelsleahta, winemaega hryre:
> "Oft ic sceolde ana uhtna gehwylce
> mine ceare cwiþan. . . ." (1-9a)

> (Often the solitary one experiences mercy, the favour of the Lord, although he for a long time has had to row with his hands in the frost-cold sea over the ocean-paths, to travel the exile-roads. A man's fortune is completely fixed. So said the wanderer, mindful of hardships, of cruel death-blows, of the fall of kinsmen. "Often I have had to lament my troubles alone at dawn. . . .")

Doubleday quotes line 5b and lines 8 to 9a, leaving out the poetic interjection of lines 6 to 7. I assume he is taking the opening five lines as a part of the speaker's monologue, quoting the closing statement of the introductory lines (5b) as a part of the body of the monologue. By ignoring the remainder of the opening lines--a statement that he who suffers experiences or awaits the mercy of God--Doubleday misses what is at the very least a suggestion that the speaker has experienced the mercy of God. As well, Doubleday misses the possible significance of the past tenses which open the body of the monologue: the speaker is not "bewailing his grief," he is remembering that he did bewail his grief in the past. The verbs do not necessarily imply that the lamentation continues as he speaks, and the ability to construct ethopoeic figures suggests, on a naturalistic level, an ability to distance grief from oneself and to generalize experience in commenting on the world. On a metaphoric level, the construction of "straw men" places the suffering on figures whose distance from the speaker represents the temporal remove at which his own experiences stand from himself.

Doubleday's and Klein's discussions point to an emphasis on the mind and on the wisdom of the wanderer in studies of the poem.[74] Shippey, in his Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English argues that a certain group of poems, including The Wanderer, The Gifts of Men, Precepts, The Seafarer and Vainglory, should be seen as homogeneous in their concern with wisdom. Of this large group Shippey writes:

> Most of these are around a hundred lines long; in most the poet makes a direct appeal to his audience; many contain gnomic generalizations or use the figure of an old man instructing his disciple; minor similarities of tone or conclusion are pervasive.[75]

But Shippey's intentions in his book are not to discuss The Wanderer as a poem of wisdom but to attempt to redress "the imbalance of Old English studies over the past century" which have largely ignored some of the short poems, such as those which immediately follow The Wanderer.[76] While he has made the tantalizing suggestion that The Wanderer should stand beside The Gifts of Men and Precepts (as it does in the manuscript) as a poem intended to teach, Shippey does not deal extensively with The Wanderer.

One trend in criticism of The Wanderer has clearly been moving toward understanding the short poems of the Exeter Book as wisdom poems. Another important critical trend which must be discussed in the interest of completeness is the use of patristic sources as a gloss to poems. This approach is closely related to Doubleday's article on the three faculties of the soul, which also draws heavily on Latin sources. Klein's discussion of the wanderer's mind, in contrast, concentrates on the poem itself.[77] The different approaches produce opposing views of the wanderer's state of mind. As well, there is an implied difference in the two articles concerning the wanderer's reaction to wyrd. Doubleday assumes that he is "blaming fate for his troubles.[78] In making such a claim, a critic must consider B. J. Timmer's important article concerning the meaning of wyrd.[79] Timmer explains the opening of The Wanderer:

> Man's wyrd=his lot is determined. These words clinch the meaning of the opening lines: In spite of misfortunes, man will often live to see the grace of God, he himself cannot alter his lot, it is determined by God.[80]

In Timmer's view, there is no rebellion in these words, no blaming of "fate," only an acknowledgement that there are situations in life which a man cannot change.

Bliss and Dunning adopt Timmer's interpretation of wyrd in their edition of the poem,[81] as does Leslie.[82] Doubleday's claim that the wanderer "blames" wyrd does not seem appropriate in the light of the now generally accepted understanding of the word. Rather than an angry blaming or, as P. B. Taylor would have us see, a despairing summation of the effect of his situation,[83] the statement is the persona's calm acceptance of the fact that the ethopoeic figure of the anhaga 'solitary one' is in a difficult situation which is brightened by the hope of Metudes miltse 'God's mercy' (2a).

Most previous generic suggestions have placed The Wanderer into a penetential tradition,[84] assuming that the wanderer is repentant for supposed sins.[85] But Morton

Bloomfield, anticipating Shippey, has argued that the classification is clearly incorrect:

> It is currently fashionable to call these OE elegies (as well as their Celtic counterparts) penitential poetry. . . . The parallels offered are usually the penitential psalms which belong rather to a different genre of literature altogether. These 'elegies' are not penitential at all--they do no castigate their speakers and pray for forgiveness. Using such a term obscures the relationship with their true generic siblings--meditative, reflective wisdom poems. Although they may refer to God and end with a prayer to him, they are didactic and addressed to men, not a plea for forgiveness addressed to God.[86]

The "generic siblings" about which Bloomfield writes follow *The Wanderer* in the manuscript, and they surround *The Seafarer*. The Anglo-Saxon scribe seems to have been aware of the relationship of these works as wisdom poems, although modern critics have been slow to notice it. Very recent criticism has been pursuing this line of investigation on occasion,[87] but too frequently the retrospective nature of the poem is understated in these studies. The impression left is that the wanderer changes before our eyes, when, in fact, he artistically reveals his memories in such a manner that his audience sees and understands his past development, and may develop as he has. This understanding of the poem sheds light on the wanderer's repeated admonition to restrain speech: *ne sceal naefre his torn to rycene / beorn of his breostum acyþan, nemþe he aer þa bote cunne* "a man must never too quickly make known the sorrow of his heart unless he already knows, or understands, the remedy for it" (112b-113). The wanderer knows and understands the remedy, and so, he speaks.

Alongside the critical development toward understanding The Wanderer as largely intellectual rather than passionate, there has been a growth in criticism discussing fine textual and syntactical points which are of immense importance to understanding the poem.[88] As well, the appearance of two major editions of the poem, each with its own approach, in 1966 and 1969,[89] clearly shows that there is by no means a single interpretation of the poem.

Perhaps the most influential critical interpretation is the allegorical one first suggested by Robertson,[90] but carried to its fullest development by Huppé.[91] This method has influenced many critics to turn to Latin source materials.[92] The trend has been opposed at times, but in general, the search for Christian doctrine has replaced the search for Anglo-Saxon paganism.[93] The theory, of which the greatest exponent is still Huppé, in its barest form is an attempt to place the literature into the social context of the time that produced it. Robertson calls this approach "historical criticism." The historical critics of Old English poetry proceed on the assumption that "medieval literature was produced in a world dominated intellectually by the church"[94] and, to a lesser extent, that "poetry during the Middle Ages was thought of as being allegorical."[95] Robertson's statement is carried to an extreme by Smithers, who sees both The Wanderer and The Seafarer as fully developed allegories in an Augustinian sense.[96] Huppé points toward the same sort of allegory in The Wanderer, seeing an heroic literal level lying over allegorical, anagogical and tropological levels.[97]

Cross has argued against Smithers particularly, but against allegorical reading of The Wanderer in general.[98] Cross writes:

> . . . if The Wanderer is to be interpreted as allegory, we might reasonably assume that the dead lord was also a type, and the other lord, so desperately sought, should also have an allegorical application. Clearly this leads to absurdity, for a Christian's lord is Christ whose death is not the cause of a Christian's exile in the world, and what Christan would seek another lord if his lord Christ were dead? On such basic details as this theories of implied allegory stand or fall.[99]

One might argue that a Christian's separation from his Lord, Christ, is caused by the Crucifixion and Ascension, but in the medieval view the separation comes long before, with the expulsion from Eden.[100] Huppé points out that the separation of God and the "Good" man was never complete,[101] as is that of the dead lord and the wanderer. Cross' point is well taken: a rigid four-fold allegory along Augustinian lines seems impossible as an interpretation of The Wanderer. But a less rigid allegory, in which the figure of the exile or peregrinus represents the sorrowful Christian separated from true joy, seems plausible.[102] One need not see the lords Cross mentions as anything other than lords, whereas the exile figure may have a number of levels of meaning. In short, the allegorical figure wanders on some or all levels of allegory, whereas some of the other figures are firmly fixed in the literal level. One cannot then simply schematize the allegory of The Wanderer.

An understanding of The Wanderer as employing a limited form of allegory is in complete agreement with Robertson's original statement of the nature of medieval poetry, which, according to him, is "always allegorical when the message of charity or some corollary of it is not evident on the surface."[103] To Robertson, the all pervading concept of Charity can be defined as the love of God in all things.[104] One can easily see, without reading allegorically, that The Wanderer's ultimate point is a turning to God as the only true security, the only proper object of eternal love. But the insecurity of the world does not require that it not be loved in a limited sense. As Tucker asks of the mutable world of The Wanderer, "may we not regret its lost glories while we acknowledge them to have been vain?"[105]

It is not clear that the wise man who laments the passing of the world is any different, either in person or wisdom, from the man who points to the security of God. To this wise man, one can lament the passing of the earth while seeking the security of Heaven. The Wanderer-poet has not taken an Augustinian approach to his poem. But the historical critics' argument has never been ironclad concerning The Wanderer. For example, Huppé argues that the exile grieves "because his mind is darkened by his earthly sorrows," in contrast to "the steady vision of the good man like Abraham" in Genesis A "who kept bright his faith in God."[106] There are two flaws in this argument: first, the wanderer, despite his sorrow, has not despaired; and secondly, it is clear at times in Genesis A that Abraham does become extremely downcast. He is described as weorce on mode 'disturbed in his mind' and cearum on clommum 'in the grip of sorrow' and God must come freom on fultum 'quickly as a comfort.'[107] While this is not necessarily despair, God must act quickly and not at the request of Abraham to comfort his loyal retainer's sorrows. What the result would have been if God had not helped is not clear. Perhaps the best and most concise response to Huppé's desire to search patristic sources as an aid to understanding the poetry is to quote Bloomfield. Concerning The Wanderer and The Seafarer, he writes, "they serve to lead us to God through the paths of wisdom rather than through the sacraments."[108]

Although many of the more rigid arguments of the historical critics do not directly help one to understand The Wanderer, they do point to both a fundamental didacticism in most Old English poetry as well as to a related and equally fundamental unity in most of the corpus. It seems necessary, however, to argue against the narrowness of the unity which Huppé and others suggest: the poems are, in general, individual reflections on aspects of the Christian life. In the *Exeter Book* the short poems are linked in a more complicated manner than simply being expressions of the virtue of Charity. In these poems there is a concern for this world and this life standing beside a concern for the next. The two worlds are necessarily bound together inseparably for the Anglo-Saxon poets. But to see the poems as simply versified presentations of doctrine is to deny the life from which they derive their power to speak to men even today.[109]

While the allegorical theory may work for some poems, for most of the short poems of the *Exeter Book*, and *The Wanderer* in particular, the theory is too rigid. Whereas *The Wanderer*'s "companion piece," *The Seafarer*, may be read as a rather well developed allegory, *The Wanderer* seems to fall short of, or rise above, rigid classifications such as "elegy," *planctus*, *consolatio* or "allegory." But the "genre" of wisdom literature, which has been suggested as an alternative by Bloomfield, provides a general enough context in which to examine *The Wanderer* without restricting the poem's ability to function as a work of art.

The basis of the concept of wisdom literature in the Judeo-Christian tradition is the collection of Wisdom Books in the Old Testament. A comparison of the Old Testament books and The Wanderer demonstrates a general similarity. The range of material in the Old Testament books of wisdom is wide, from the simple gnomes of Proverbs to the elaborate characterizations of Job and Ecclesiastes. The introduction to the New American Bible's translation of Ecclesiastes makes a comment which is of great interest to a study of The Wanderer:

> Ecclesiastes examines a wide range of human experience only to conclude that all things are vanity except a fear of the Lord and observance of his commandments, and that God requites man in his own good time.[110]

One may compare this statement to Klein's description of The Wanderer: "the speaker offers, with an authority derived from a truly capacious vision of human possibility . . . the last and only real alternative, a turning . . . to the Father in Heaven."[111]

The translators of the New American Bible also say of Ecclesiastes:

> While Ecclesiastes concedes that there is an advantage for man in the enjoyment of certain legitimate pleasures lest he lapse into pessimism and despair, he nevertheless considers this idulgence also vanity unless man returns due thanks to the Creator who has given him all.[112]

These sentiments are familiar in Old English poetry, for example, the conclusions of The Seafarer[113] and of The Fortunes of Men,[114] and the very un-Augustinian enjoyment Abraham derives from worldly things in Genesis A.[115] A connection between Ecclesiastes and *The Wanderer* has been suggested, but not yet has it been examined even to this modest extent.[116] But the poet was not trying to rewrite Ecclesiastes: *The Wanderer* reads like a true effusion of wisdom rather than an imitation. The wisdom books of the Old Testament are counterparts to the wisdom poems of the *Exeter Book* not direct sources. To quote the translators of the New American Bible,

> The wisdom literature of the Bible is the fruit of a movement among ancient oriental people to gather, preserve and express, usually in aphoristic style, the results of human experience as an aid toward understanding and solving the problems of life.[117]

That the wanderer's understanding is the fruit of experience is quite clear, although he carefully distances himself from that experience. The connection between wisdom and experience perhaps lies behind his statement that *ne maeg wearþan wis wer, aer he age / wintra dael in woruldrice* 'a man may not become wise before he has a deal of winters in the worldly kingdom' (64-65a).

This discussion is not meant to preclude allegory or patristic writings from the interpretation of the short poems of the *Exeter Book*: it is well known that all books of the Bible have been open to allegorical readings since Augustine and before. But it is also clear that allegorical readings are not necessary to understand the Wisdom Books, and that allegory was likely not always intended by the Hebrew authors.[118]

Similarly, it should not be assumed that the poet of The Wanderer intended allegory. When an allegorical reading of The Wanderer can be shown to function, as no critic has yet conclusively done, then one may proceed with a detailed analysis of the allegory. But the present state of criticism does not suggest that interpretive methods or generic classifications so far proposed provide the single key to understanding the poem.

Chapter Two: Wisdom Literature and the Manuscript Context

Unfortunately for the modern reader of *The Wanderer*, a millennium of change in the English literary tradition together with over a century of critical study have made a certain amount of research necessary to understand what was possibly quite obvious in Anglo-Saxon times. The many differing critical approaches have often served to muddy interpretational waters. The use of the term "elegy," first by Conybeare,[1] has, as Bloomfield explains, led critics to see *The Wanderer* as a personal poem, to view the *eardstapa* 'wanderer' (6a) as turning inward to find comfort and forgiveness for himself.[2] They have tended to view the speaker as a man who describes personal experiences for his own benefit. But it can easily be argued, as Bloomfield has done, that

> The speaker . . . is the poet speaking as prophet and teacher. He is mediating wisdom and is not speaking primarily of himself. His experiences are to be taken as representative experiences not personal experiences. (They may of course incidentally have been personal experiences, but only incidentally.)[3]

Morton Bloomfield's remarks aptly describe *The Wanderer*, for however personal the wanderer's experiences as expressed through the "straw men," they are incidental to his purpose[4]: to show his audience *þaer us eal seo faestnung stondeð* 'where security waits for us all' (115b). The poem presents a response to the vicissitudes of life which is generally satisfying.[5] This response is frequently restated in the Exeter Book, usually in association with responses to more specific problems. These responses are expressions of wisdom of various types.

Wisdom literature can be called a genre only with qualification: the term describes a wide range of works which come from most literary traditions and have a number of forms. In spite of formal variation, the different examples are united in their purpose: ic a wille / leode laeron 'I will always teach the people' (Judgement Day I, 46b-47a). The forms of wisdom literature are various, from elaborate fictional constructions such as the debates in Job and the Solomon and Saturn dialogues, to the simply stated gnomes or proverbs in the Book of Proverbs or the Old English Maxims.[6] J. L. Crenshaw has suggested that the riddle is closely related to the proverb and is often a part of the literature of wisdom of a society.[7] The classification clearly is quite wide, but in its broadness it can provide a useful unifying principle for the second half of the Exeter Book. While the "genre" of wisdom literature does not provide a wide range of works comparable in form, it does provide a narrow range of poems comparable in their overriding purpose to teach men about as many aspects of life as the poets feel possible or necessary. This comparability can help us to understand the manner in which The Wanderer achieves this purpose. When the reader examines the Exeter Book in the light of the modern study of wisdom literature, the poems soon seem remarkably unified, particularly the ten between Juliana and the Physiologus: The Wanderer, The Gifts of Men, Precepts, The Seafarer, Vainglory, Widsith, The Fortunes of Men, Maxims I, The Order of the World and The Riming Poem. In spite of great formal differences, each poem flows easily into the next, both in the intellectual course and, in some cases, in the verbal course.[8] One cannot deny that the Riddles, the Physiologus, and The Wanderer belong in a formal sense to different genres. But the differences in form are balanced by a common purpose evidenced by the close proximity of these poems in the Exeter Book. The short poems of the Exeter Book demonstrate a wide range of human experience and reflect on possible responses to that experience. Through the typical figure of a wise man, some poems present preferred responses.

Just as in discussions of Old Testament wisdom, of course, a line must be drawn at some point between poems of wisdom and poems which contain wisdom. R. E. Murphy's words concerning the Israelites may be applied to the Old English poets:

> The sapiential understanding of reality was shared by all Israelites; it was not a mode of thinking which belonged to only one class. The mentality was far broader than the literary remains that have come down to us as "wisdom literature." Thus it should come as no surprise that Isaiah, or any other prophet, should use a parable. But Isaiah is not to be classified among the sages, nor

> is his writing part of "wisdom." False problems are raised by a rigid plotting of genres and the extent of the wisdom vocabulary. The author of the book of Job moved outside of strict wisdom genres when he used a legend concerning Job as the framework for his sapiential discussion of a wisdom problem.[9]

Like the author of Job, the poet of The Wanderer moves outside the "wisdom genres" in presenting the theme of exile as the framework for his "sapiential discussion of a wisdom problem."[10] Despite the departure from form, both Job and The Wanderer occupy a place in the vast corpus of wisdom literature. Samuel Sandmel's description of Job can be modified to describe The Wanderer: "the poet has illumined the experience of men through a poem about a man."[11]

The lines we draw between poems of wisdom and poems containing wisdom should be drawn in the most obvious and the most defensible places. The narrative poems in the Exeter Book can be placed outside a discussion of wisdom literature: the prominent narrative aspect provides a basis for a separate wide generic classification. The Riddles might also be put aside on the basis of their usually well defined form, but one must be careful because of their close relation to wisdom literature. Some poems such as The Ruin and The Husband's Message might well be considered as between the Riddles and the short poems of wisdom.

A poem such as Christ is difficult to place. It might be described as a greatly extended prayer, taking up themes from diverse genres and placing them together in praise of Christ. The difficulties of the poem, not least the question of its unity, are too numerous to be discussed here, but Christ clearly belongs to a different genre than The Wanderer, perhaps to a genre of which it is the only member.[12] The Phoenix also stands on its own, being a direct extension of a medieval Latin Christian allegorical commonplace of the legendary bird as a type of resurrection.[13]

After the items in the Exeter Book have been pared away in this manner, four blocks of poetry remain: the group of ten poems which begins with The Wanderer and ends with The Riming Poem; the three poems which follow the Physiologus; the three poems of the Physiologus itself; and the eight which follow Riddle 59. The Physiologus stands, like The Phoenix, on its own, having obvious parallels in the Latin tradition.[14] Wulf and Eadwacer, the last poem of the second group, has been seen as a riddle but now is generally described as an elegy.[15] Recently, however, James E. Anderson has argued convincingly that Soul and Body II, Deor and Wulf and Eadwacer were intentionally placed together by the scribe to form a very sophisticated riddle. His argument suggests that the conscious organization of the poetry by the scribe extends at least as far as the beginning of the Riddles. As well, Anderson mentions evidence of organization in the ordering of the later Riddles.[16]

The final group of poems includes Pharaoh, a rather odd example of the dialogue form.[17] This eight line numbering of Pharaoh's army is tantalizing in its apparent lack of purpose, and may be related to the Riddles in its suggestion of a hidden meaning. The poems which follow the Physiologus, apart from the Riddles, are generally of more uneven form than those which precede: Pharaoh jostles with The Lord's Prayer and Deor with Soul and Body II. If any part of the Exeter Book seems randomly assembled it is the collection following the Physiologus. The other short poems, ten in number, are more even in tone and form. These poems will be the main focus of this chapter which examines the manuscript context of the poems and the manner in which these ten poems treat wisdom material in their intent to reveal truths about the relationship of God and man. This investigation should aid in understanding the manner in which The Wanderer uses the same sorts of wisdom material to achieve similar results.

The nine poems which follow The Wanderer are: The Gifts of Men, Precepts, The Seafarer, Vainglory, Widsith, The Fortunes of Men, Maxims I, The Order of the World and The Riming Poem. Of the ten, four--The Seafarer, Vainglory, The Order of the World and The Riming Poem--speak completely in the first person. Four--The Wanderer, Precepts, Vainglory, and Widsith--create a persona who is quoted for his words of wisdom. Three are told impersonally: The Gifts of Men, The Fortunes of Men and Maxims I. The portion of the manuscript containing these ten poems is in very good condition, except for a large hole at the lower edge of fol. 78 which does not damage the text at all. The folios that contain these poems are collected into three gatherings, numbered by modern scholars X, XI, and XII. The first two of these gatherings have eight leaves each, whereas XII is missing a leaf at the end. This leaf apparently contained a large part of The Partridge, the last poem of the Physiologus. It is also possible that one or more gatherings are missing along with this leaf, but the gap is not important to a discussion of the ten earlier poems.[18]

The Riming Poem ends on fol. 95b, the fifth folio of gathering XII. The portion of the manuscript which contains the ten short poems between Juliana and the Physiologus remains in the condition in which the scribe left it in the tenth century. A discussion of the state of the manuscript may aid in understanding the way in which the scribe viewed the poems which he copied.

The leaves are ruled on one side only, the ruling effected with a pointed instrument, without ink, and sometimes quite faintly.[19] All gatherings are consistently ruled with 21, 22, or 23 lines, contrary to Förster's description of an arbitrarily ruled manuscript.[20] Dorothy K. Coveney has demonstrated that Förster's examination of the manuscript was not as would be desirable. Although the number of written lines per page varies, particularly in gathering XII, the ruling of the manuscript is remarkably consistent.[21] The ruling of the manuscript is of no aid in interpreting the relation of the poems; the scribe clearly was copying onto ready-made gatherings.

On folio 78a, the last page of The Wanderer, there is an incised drawing of "an angel's head with wings."[22] Förster argues that the six incised drawings in the manuscript are of a later date than the copying of the poems. He suggests a date of the second half of the eleventh or the twelfth century,[23] a date which suggests that the manuscript did not remain unopened after it was given to the Cathedral by Leofric before 1072. The inscription of an angel's head at the end of The Wanderer may indicate that the artist was aware of the turning to Heaven that comes at the end of the poem, or it may represent an assumed angel who carries the gifts of God to men which are catalogued in The Gifts of Men beginning on the same page.

Poems are generally separated from each other by one or two blank lines and by Roman capitals. The first five poems in the manuscript open with a very large capital followed by a full or nearly full line of smaller capitals. As well, Christ is divided into three parts by such capitals, and Guthlac into two parts. It is assumed that Azarias has a similar opening which has been lost in a gathering before fol. 53. The Wanderer begins with only a single capitalized word, such as is used in the earlier part of the manuscript to indicate minor internal divisions of poems.[24] The Gifts of Men begins with a very large capital and a full line less two letters of smaller roman capitals. The impression one receives from the form of the text on the page is that a major break comes after The Wanderer, and that The Wanderer itself is a part of Juliana. It might be argued from this evidence that Juliana and The Wanderer were copied together, whereas The Gifts of Men and the three poems which follow--Precepts, The Seafarer and Vainglory, all of which begin with small capitals--were copied together at a later time. This argument assumes that an elaborate opening indicates the beginning of a new session of copying. Widsith begins with a large capital and a full line less one letter of small capitals, a form of opening not repeated until the beginning of Soul and Body II, which follows the Physiologus. If one accepts the argument that a group of poems begining with a large capital and a line of small capitals was copied as a block from an unknown source, then three such blocks would be: Juliana and The Wanderer; The Gifts of Men, Precepts, The Seafarer, and Vainglory; and Widsith, The Fortunes of Men, Maxims I, The Order of the World, The Riming Poem and the Physiologus. The ruling of the pages, furthermore, neither supports nor detracts from this argument. One assumes that the scribe would rule an entire gathering at once,[25] and so, when the copying of The Wanderer was completed, the remainder of gathering X would be ruled and empty. When the manuscript from which the next four poems were copied came to hand, the scribe filled the remaining pages and then ruled another gathering on which to continue.

The ends of poems and parts of poems are marked in addition to beginnings:

> The end of the poem is always marked by an emphatic puntuation, which is never a single dot, but always a more or less complex combination of signs. The smaller poems usually end in the sign: 7 only, which is the most usual sign for the end of the cantos of a poem. . . . To emphasize the termination, the words *Amen* or *Finit* may be added to, or even inserted into, such a combination of signs.[26]

The ten poems under present discussion have the following terminal signs: *The Wanderer*, :—:7 ; *The Gifts of Men*, :7 ; *Precepts*, :-;7 ; *The Seafarer*, Am̄:7 ; *Vainglory*, Amen:7 ; *Widsith*, :—:7 ; *The Fortunes of Men*, :7 ; *Maxims I*, :7 ; *The Order of the World*, :7 ; *The Riming Poem*, :7 . The extra emphasis of the "Amen" in the endings of *The Seafarer* and *Vainglory* has no immediately apparent significance. The poem which follows *The Seafarer* does not receive an emphatic beginning, either through extended capitalization or extra blank lines, whereas that which follows *Vainglory* does. The emphatic ending of *Vainglory* corresponds to the emphatic opening of *Widsith*, reinforcing the theory that *Widsith* represents the beginning of a new session of copying for the scribe. What, then, is one to make of the emphatic ending of *The Seafarer*? The occurrence of an emphatic ending without an emphatic opening undercuts any suspicion of a connection between end punctuation and the time scheme of the copying. But the use of "Amen" at the end of certain poems may represent an almost unconscious response by the scribe to the content of the poem, occurring for example after a call on the audience to give thanks to God in both The Seafarer and Vainglory. The context of the "Amen" at the end of a poem signifies an emphasized break in the text.

In any case, the time scheme of copying would have little to do with any theories of conscious organization. If the scribe were being careful in his copying, he would be content to wait until what he felt to be an appropriate work came to hand, even if another, less appropriate work were available. The fact that a scribe may have worked for limited periods does not indicate that the periods were limited by the availability of manuscripts from which to copy. Similarly, there is no reason to assume that poems copied in one sitting were necessarily from a single source manuscript. The evidence of the form of the manuscript is of little aid in answering the question of the organization of the Exeter Book.

The only dependable scribal sign that a new poem has begun is the use of massive capitals and the capitalization of most or all of a manuscript line. In the case of The Wanderer, only a single small word is capitalized, and the end of Juliana is marked with —Amen:7, which may or may not be emphatic. The end of Juliana is, in fact, a prayer made by the author, Cynewulf; the "Amen" conclusion should not be unexpected. There is no clear scribal indication that the break between Juliana and The Wanderer is in fact a break between poems. One must turn to internal evidence.

It is immediately clear that the natures of the two poems differ: the solitary figure of the wanderer has no place in the story of Juliana, unless we see him as a stereotypical figure of the Christian martyr, and no references to the Juliana story occur in The Wanderer. But the blending of Cynewulf's prayer and the opening of The Wanderer is striking; in fact, in 1705 Humfrey Wanley considered Juliana and The Wanderer a unit. Cynewulf's prayer at the end of Juliana contains all the elements of the exile theme which Greenfield isolated.[27] Cynewulf presents himself as a wretched man, needing the help of God. He looks back on his own life and sees that he has need of divine mercy. He then calls on his unknown audience to pray for him and prays himself that they all might experience God's mercy. Turning the page in the manuscript, one meets the words Oft him anhaga are gebided 'Often the solitary one experiences mercy.' The meaning of the line has been frequently debated, whether it meands 'often the solitary one waits for mercy,' or 'often the solitary one experiences mercy.' Bruce Mitchell has argued persuasively against the latter interpretation[28] while B. K. Green has argued equally persuasively in favour of it.[29] But the exact meaning is not important at the moment. For Cynewulf' hypothetical audience, those who meet him in the Exeter Book, his prayer is answered with the turning of the page. The verb gebided actually has three meanings: 'experiences' and 'awaits,' if one takes the stem vowel to be long; if one takes the stem vowel to be short, one will see the third person singular of a different verb, gebiddan 'to pray' or 'to bid.' With the turning of the page, the reader is confronted with a bald statement, in a form similar to that of a gnome, that a solitary man, such as Cynewulf, often prays for, as Cynewulf did, awaits and experiences the mercy of God, as Cynewulf hopes to do. The power of the triple meaning of the verb in its context on the page seems more than simply a fortuitous juxtaposition of two poems by a semiconscious scribe; it involves wit and artistry of a very high order. The use of an ambiguous verb suggests that even in The Wanderer there is a touch of the riddling style which will dominate the final pages of the Exeter Book.

Although it is not known who juxtaposed Juliana and The Wanderer, one can proceed on the assumption that someone, whether the poet or a later scribe, noticed the power of such a juxtaposition and from this discern what would seem to be a truly Anglo-Saxon perspective on The Wanderer: a response to a prayer such as Cynewulf's for help and guidance. The triple meaning of the first line strikes a chord which will reverberate through the next ten poems in some form. The poems continue the response begun by The Wanderer: he who prays and waits will often (perhaps not always) find comfort from God. The poems elaborate on the theme, often apparently digressing, but rarely is the thread which ties a particular note to the original chord severed completely.

The accepted division of the poems is clearly correct; the style and diction are too uneven to allow that these passages should be considered the unified work of a single poet. But when one reads the poems through, one gains the impression that the gathering of these particular poems into this particular collection is the product of a careful compiler rather than that of chance.[30] _The Wanderer_ is the initial movement in an expression of wisdom based on a meeting and melding of faith and experience of God and man.

The nine poems following _The Wanderer_ largely expand what has already found expression in _The Wanderer_. Not to deny the later poems their own unique validity and value, no other poem, perhaps with the exception of _The Seafarer_, _Maxims I_ and _The Riming Poem_, attempts to position man in full relation to his entire world. _The Gifts of Men_ shows some of men's occupations and the mercy of God; _Precepts_ presents man's wisdom as a catalogue; _Vainglory_ and _The Fortunes of Men_ function chiefly as cautionary tales; _Widsith_ finds man a place in human history[31]; and _The Order of the World_ finds him a place in divine history. _The Riming Poem_ returns to a placement of man in the totality of his world, where the only security lies with God, where men may _aa in sibbe gefean_ 'forever rejoice in harmony' (87b). All of these aspects form a part of The Wanderer, although human history is reduced to an impersonally described, typical, bygone dryht 'troop,' which is, after all, much the same as what Widsith describes repeatedly. The minor themes are expanded and elaborated in the other poems, but in The Wanderer the major theme, the all-mightiness of God, rises to a crescendo of spiritual transcendence mingled with physical decay, expressed most succinctly by the description of the apocalypse as gaestlic, which in Old English can have both its modern sense, 'ghastly' and the sense 'spiritual.'[32] For the wise man who sees man in his place, the apocalypse will be both ghastly and spiritual or transcendent.

The "genre" of wisdom poetry is vague at best, even when the term is used to describe parts of the scriptures.[33] But the wisdom poetry of the Exeter Book provides a manageable subject on which to base a definition for the Old English tradition. In making this definition we must assume that the assembly of the book was not "haphazard,"[34] that the Exeter Book is not simply a "commonplace book."[35] There is a unity in parts of the book which overcomes the unevenness of style, a unity of themes and images, and most important, a unity of direction. While Prins sees "neither rhyme nor reason,"[36] Bradley, still seeing no conscious artistry, correctly remarks that "the codex at large sustains the address made in the opening poems to the essentials of Christian faith and Christian living."[37]

The fundamentals of the wisdom of The Wanderer are contained in Bradley's brief description of "the codex at large." This type of wisdom is very similar to the Old Testament wisdom which Henri Cazelles describes in general terms as

> . . . l'art de la réussite de la vie humaine, privée ou collective, elle est à base d'humanisme, de réflexion et d'observation sur le cours des choses et le comportement de l'homme.[38]
>
> (the art of success in human life, private or collective, it is grounded in humanism, in reflection on and observation of the course of things and the conduct of man.)

The Wanderer's emphasis on mutability is clearly an outgrowth of reflection on and observation of the course of things, and the gnomic passages demonstrate the ideal conduct of men. But the wisdom in The Wanderer involves something more than Cazelles includes in his definition: a steadfast faith in the mercy of God. While acknowledging the firmness of wyrd 'destiny, fortune,' the wanderer has faith in the ability of God to come to his aid.[39]

An examination of The Wanderer demonstrates that the wisdom it teaches may be divided into a limited number of types. Crenshaw has described four types of wisdom in the Old Testament, and his four types are easily adaptable to The Wanderer and to the other wisdom poems in the Exeter Book. Crenshaw speaks of juridical, nature, practical, and theological wisdom.[40] The four types might better be described in the Old English context as social, nature, personal/practical, and theological. Social wisdom describes or helps to smooth interaction between individuals or groups; wisdom of nature helps man to understand or sometimes merely to describe nature; personal/practical wisdom helps man to understand, maintain, or advance himself; theological wisdom helps man to understand or describe God and His ways. Because the Old English poets were working in a Christian environment, the theological type often overlaps the others. Furthermore, because wisdom is "l'art de la réussite de la vie," every type of wisdom is in some sense personal/practical wisdom. And because the aspects of man and his world are interrelated under God's power, all four types of wisdom frequently stand on common ground. An analysis of some of the short wisdom poems from the group of ten to which *The Wanderer* belongs will help clarify the meanings of the categories, which are quite flexible. *The Wanderer* will be discussed in detail in chapter four.

Wisdom of nature does not occur frequently in its pure form in these poems. Most often it carries distinctly theological overtones. For example, lines 62b-63 of *The Wanderer* which have their root in a conventional observation of the decay of the world, *Swa þes middangeard / ealra dogra gehwam dreoseð ond fealleþ* 'in the same way this middle-earth every day decays and sinks down,' foreshadow the apocalyptic vision of the world which comes later in the poem. The description of the decaying world in lines 88b-89 of *The Seafarer*, *Blaed is gehnaeged,/ eorþan indryhto ealdað ond searað* 'prosperity has ceased, the nobility of the earth grows old and withers,' immediately suggests to the poet the decay of mankind and, by a leap of faith, God, the single hope of man. The lengthy description of the natural world in *The Order of the World* lines 60-75 forms only a part of an attempt to position man in nature, subservient to God.

Perhaps the most apparent examples of nature wisdom are to be discovered in *Maxims I*, in which gnomic commonplaces such as *feorhcynna fela faeþmeþ wide / eglond monig* 'far and wide many islands bring forth many types of life' (14-15a), *beam sceal on eorðan / leafum liþan, leomu gnornian* 'a tree must on the earth be deprived of leaves, its limbs must mourn' (25b-26), and *forst sceal freosan, fyr wudu meltan* 'frost must freeze, fire burn wood' (71) are typical. The nature wisdom of *Maxims I* is optimistically related to social wisdom in a marvelous pun, an example of paranomasia: *treo sceolon braedon ond treow weaxan* 'trees must spread and trust flourish' (159).

In *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*, generalized nature wisdom is replaced to a large extent by specific descriptions of fictional situations placed in a natural setting. The seafarer does not say, 'he who lives in company on land does not know the pain of him who lives alone on the sea.' Instead, the reader is shown a detailed picture of the seafarer himself, 'hung about with icicles'[41] and mistaking the song of the birds for that of men. But the wisdom of the lines can be generalized, asit is in Maxims I:

> Earm biþ se þe sceal ana lifgan,
> wineleas wunian   hafaþ him wyrd geteod;
> betra him waere þaet he broþor ahte. . . . (172-74a)

> (Wretched is he who must live alone, dwell friendless; fortune has made him that way; it would be better for him if he had a brother.)

Maxims I also uses the fiction of a seafaring figure as an aid to expressing wise social action. The Frisian sailor of lines 95-110 stands out with surprising realism from the surrounding precepts. Social wisdom, a description of men's correct and incorrect actions, such as that of the Frisian sailor passage, is by far the most common type of wisdom in the ten wisdom poems presently under discussion. Indeed, The Fortunes of Men and The Gifts of Men are concerned with little else, being descriptions of how men live and die. But social wisdom in its fullest form does more than simply describe proper or improper action; it also explains the reason for the propriety or impropriety of the action. The old father's second precept exemplifies such developed wisdom:

> Ne freme firene,   ne naefre freonde þinum
> maege man ne geþafa,   þy laes þec meotod oncunne,
> þaet þu sy wommes gewita.   He þe mid wite gielded,
> swylce þam oþrum mid eadwelan. (Precepts, 17-20a)

> (Do not commit crimes and never tolerate evil in your friend or kinsman, lest God reproach you as a witness to sin. He will pay you with injury and those who do otherwise with happiness.)

Not only is proper action defined, its advantage is explained by an apparently simple system of reward and punishment. But this system links the social wisdom of the second precept to a huge fund of theological wisdom, of which only a small part is used in the short poems of the *Exeter Book*. The diction of the precept, most importantly the words *freme firene* 'commit crimes' and *wite* 'injury,' links human action and worldly reward or punishment with the archetype of action and consequence, the war in Heaven between God and Satan. The story is told, among other places, at the opening of *Genesis A* in *The Junius Manuscript*. The Angels *synna ne cuþon, / firena fremman, ac hie on friðe lifdon*, 'knew nothing of sins, nor how to commit crimes, but they lived in peace' (18b-19). But Satan rises against God. In response, God fills a dark hall, Hell, with *witebrogan* 'injury-terror' (45a) and places Satan in that hall. Heaven again is filled with joy.

All the elements of the war in Heaven appear in the second precept. He who commits or condones sin is a type of Satan or a follower of Satan. As God punished Satan and his followers, He will punish men who sin; as He rewarded the faithful in Heaven, He will reward faithful men. The social wisdom takes on a strongly theological aspect because, ultimately, earthly society, to the medieval Christian, reflects either God's society or Satan's society. Man is placed between the two, on *middangeard* 'middle-earth' and he has the potential either to rise or to fall.[42]

The social and theological types of wisdom are united most clearly in *The Gifts of Men* and *The Fortunes of Men*. While the body of each poem describes man's society, the framing passages make the poems clear descriptions of God's justice. As well, both poems end with statements of practical wisdom raised to the divine level: *A þaes dom age, /leohtbaere lof, se us þis lif giefeð / ond his milde mod monnum cyþeð* 'may he who gives us this life and makes his gracious mind known to men always have these honours, this brilliant praise' (*The Gifts of Men*, 111b-113); *forþon him nu ealles þonc aeghwa secge, / þaes þe he for his miltsum monum scrifeð* 'and so, let everyone say thanks to Him for all that He has given out of His mercy to men' (*Fortunes of Men*, 97-98). These lines provide a useful gloss on the opening lines of *The Wanderer*; they suggest that the wanderer, despite his hardship, does experience the mercy of God, rather than being near despair. The poet of *The Fortunes of Men*, after a list of ignominious deaths, is able to ask every man to thank God for His *miltse* 'mercy,' the same *miltse* that the wanderer *gebideð* 'experiences, waits for.' It seems that a man can experience *meotudes miltse* without seeking it and without any relief from physical torment; God will distribute His favour to earth dwellers according to His own plan and in His own time: *God ana wat / hwaet him weaxendum winter bringað* 'God alone knows what years will bring a man as he grows' (*The Fortunes of Men*, 8b-9).

The most extended expression of theological wisdom occurs in The Order of the World, in which the poet expounds God's plan. The poet's understanding may be limited, however, as the poet himself tells us:

> Nis þaet mones gemet   moldhrerendra,
> þaet he maege in hreþre   his heah geweorc
> furþor aspyrgan   þonne him frea sylle
> to ongietanne   godes agen bibod. . . . (27-30)
>
> (It is not man's measure, dwellers' on the earth,
> that he explore God's high work any further than
> God allows, that he understand God's own command.)

These lines limit all men's attempts to express wisdom: a man cannot know anything more about the world than God allows. Each of the poems attempts in its own fashion to rise, as Milton puts it, "to the highth of this great Argument"[43]; if they fall short, either in obscurity or simplicity, it is because the argument is too great for the man. This difficulty is well expressed by God Himself in Job:

> Canst thou draw out Leviathan with an hook? or his tongue with a cord which thou let down? . . . Shall the companions make a banquet of him? shall they part him among the merchants? . . . None is so fierce that dare stir him up: who then is able to stand before me? (41:1-10)

The Order of the World begins with an introduction of a a 'stranger-man,' a woðbora, who is able to expound to a certain degree the wonders of the universe. The word woðbora occurs only five times in Old English poetry excluding The Order of the World; only one of these occurrences is outside the *Exeter Book*. In Riddle 31 the *woðbora* is the man who has wisdom to solve the riddle, a situation similar to the *woðbora* of *The Order of the World*, who has the wisdom to solve God's riddle of Creation. In Riddle 80 the subject of the riddle gives the *woðbora* a *wordleana* 'word-loan, word-gift.' The modern consensus on the solution to this riddle is "mead-horn"[44]; however, one might reasonably see the solution as "mead" alone.[45]

The reference to the *woðbora* in *The Gifts of Men* is short and to the point: *sum biþ woðbora / giedda giffaest* 'one becomes a *woðbora*, endowed with song' (35b-36a). The implication here is that God by some means bestows the gift of song upon the *woðbora*. From Riddle 80 one has the suggestion that the agent of the gift is mead. Riddle 31 and *The Order of the World*, also, indicate that the *woðbora* is a solver of riddles, whether contrived by man or by God, and that he is a wide traveller like Widsith.

In *Christ*, Isaiah is described as *sum woðbora* (302b). The connotations of this word are quite wide, but what emerges is a detailed picture of a wise prophet figure who travels widely and is able to see more deeply into things, whether they be riddles or the problems of the universe, than can ordinary men. The reading of the signs in the universe is attributed to the *woðbora* both in *The Order of the World*, where he knows about the *sidra gesceafta* 'wide creation' (4b), and in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* poem on *The Death of Edgar*:

> And þa wearð aetywed uppe on roderum
> steorra on staðole, þone sidferhðe,
> haeleð higegleawe, hatað wide
> cometa be namen, craeftgleawe men,
> wise woðboran. (29-33)
>
> (Then a star appeared up in the sky of the type that thought-wise men, skill-wise men, wise wodboran call throughout the world by the name of comet.)

While Huppé in his analysis of The Order of the World with little foundation takes the woðbora to be "a man studying Scripture as the key to life's way," he also allows that woðbora has "all the connotations of the word as it is attested in Old English verse--poet, prophet, astronomer."[46] But the connotations of the word are somewhat different from what Huppé allows: there is no evidence that the woðbora studied Scripture rather than some other type of book. He is, to be sure, poet, and prophet, in a limited sense, gaining his knowledge from an examination of the things all can see if they know how to look. Like the poet and the prophet, he has his power from God, but he has the ability to turn that power to the questions which immediately concern him. Thus he may search the signs in the sky for clues to God's plan, or he may turn his power to something as simple as Riddle 31, which has as its solution "a bagpipe."

I. M. Hollowell has argued that the woðbora was the ninth-century suvival of a pagan seer, a shaman of sorts.[47] The idea of an origin in pagan shamanism helps explain the reference in Riddle 80 to mead as a possible source of the woðbora's poetry: mead is the woðbora's "holy Raushtrank."[48]

Hollowell proposes that this *woðbora*/shaman figure was respectable in Anglo-Saxon times, citing his prominence in the *Exeter Book*, a gift of a bishop to his see.[49] Hollowell is following Robertson's advice to an historical critic to reconstruct a social environment. But the path she follows differs radically from Robertson's: the social background Hollowell creates for the Old English poems, unlike the Robertson-Huppé reconstruction, is in keeping with what is known about the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons and about the Anglo-Saxon secular Christian. The Robertsonian view is based on learned ecclesiastical sources. Hollowell, basing her view on less prominent historical sources, shows that the usual Christian Anglo-Saxon did not necessarily worship at an Augustinian altar.[50]

Hollowell's proposal that this wizard figure is the principal character of *The Wanderer* is reasonable, if speculative.[51] One need not see the *woðbora* as a pagan figure, for he describes the creation of the world in clearly Christian terms. The wanderer, both in his actions and in his words, fits well with what little we know of the *woðbora*. Like the *woðbora*, the wanderer's prime purpose is the teaching and explication of his wisdom. Hollowell writes:

> If we examine *The Wanderer*, we find that we are looking not at something personal at all but at something impersonal--at a set piece, in fact, which presents experience of an (apparently) personal nature used as a frame on which to fasten the

> teaching or sermonizing passages.[52]

Hollowell's delineation of the woðbora is very speculative, but whether she is correct in her understanding of the woðbora generally, she is certainly correct in viewing the wanderer as a wise man who understands life as well as it may be understood and who is trying to pass on that understanding. The didacticism of the poem has long been acknowledged, but it has rarely been understood clearly in terms of wisdom.

The Seafarer, generally regarded as similar to The Wanderer, not least in its didacticism, has aspects that clearly relate it to the wisdom poems which surround it, including the presence of a wise man. After line 66, the speaker's first-person references to himself virtually disappear. The remaining 58 lines are made up of generalized expressions of wisdom, progressing from a short statement of natural wisdom, through a longer sample of the personal/practical type and an even longer discussion of social wisdom, to the climax of theological wisdom. The connection to Heaven is not broken again, although the theology is applied to social and personal concerns as the poem comes to a close. The first 66 lines also contain examples of wisdom, such as the eighteen lines, 39-57, embedded in the fictional account of the seafarer's life. The fictional experiences are clearly, to use Hollowell's words about The Wanderer, a "frame on which to fasten" the wisdom. The description of hardship serves as a concrete reason for the sorrow every man must endure as he journeys on the sea.

The concluding 55 lines of The Seafarer progress steadily to the description of the dead man and his soul, which itself rises from the dirt of the grave to God who first shaped the earth. The nature wisdom of line 67, that earth's wealth does not stand eternal, leads to the practical, though less than pleasant wisdom of lines 68-71, in which a man's life is shown to be transitory. The acknowledgement of a man's limited span leads to a theory of conduct based on good works in the transitory world with a hope of joy in the eternal world. The theory of conduct progresses to the transience even of society. A short generalization about nature in lines 88b-89 reminds men from where they have come as well as generalizing from society's transience back to the entire world's transience. Again the natural wisdom moves to the personal in lines 90-96, and this progresses to the society of brothers, one dead and the other living. Lines 97-102 show the theological side of the social wisdom: gold does not help the soul; good works and fear of God do. It is here, on the theological side that the most useful wisdom lies. To know how to conduct oneself in life in a manner that will help in society is good, but to have the wisdom to conduct oneself in life in a way that will allow one after death to enjoy the bliss of Heaven is better. The Old English wisdom is not only the art of success in life, but also the art of success after death, both individual and collective.

This analysis of The Seafarer, however oversimplified, shows the basic progression from the concrete to the abstract, from natural descriptive wisdom to deeply reflective theological wisdom. While the pattern of progression is not standard in the Exeter Book, the tendency of the wisdom to mingle on several levels is common. This intermingling indicates that the poets' world-view was not of rigidly differentiated spheres, one in which natrual wisdom was needed, one practical, and so on. Instead the world was perceived as unified under God, the wisdom of theology being derivable from the other types of wisdom because all was originally derived from God. As the poet of Maxims I explains,

> He us geþonc syleð,
> missenlicu mod, monge reorde.
> Feorhcynna fela faeþmeþ wide
> eglond monig. Eardas rume
> meotud araerde for moncynne,
> aelmihtig god, efenfela bega
> þeoda ond þeawe. (12b-18a)
>
> (He gives us thought, various minds, many languages. Far and wide many islands bring forth many types of living things. Almighty God established for mankind an equal number of wide lands and customs.)

God has given to man customs for every nation, the customs being embodiments of practical and social wisdom. He has spread life far and wide in different forms; the understanding of the relationships between kinds of life and the world is wisdom of nature. And He has given men minds with which to strive to understand and language with which to express that understanding. The whole passage provides an example of theological wisdom, a description of divine nature. As natural, social, and practical wisdom are required for success in God's creation, so the three types of wisdom are embedded in the description of God.

The interconnectedness of the universe under God is well demonstrated by the mixing of wisdom in *The Riming Poem*. This is a very difficult poem: the rigid system of rhyme by half-line--unique in Old English--seems to have forced the poet to take certain liberties with sense.[53] The difficulty of the poem is due, as Krapp and Dobbie suggest, "not to any lack of logical sequence in the subject matter, which is clear and straightforward throughout, but to obscurities in phrasing and the choice of words."[54]

Bradley explains the subject matter of *The Riming Poem* as a description by a first-person narrator of "his former life of worldly affluence, its inexorable decay, the onset of griefs and old age, the passage to the grave and the body's dissolution, all in parallel with the deterioration of this world itself."[55] A major portion of the poem, the first 42 lines, concerns the speaker's affluent life. The opening of the poem clearly attributes all of the speaker's wealth to God: *Me lifes onlah se þis leoht onwrah, / ond þaet torhte geteoh, tillice onwrah* "He who revealed this light and showed its brightness, revealed it well, gave me life' (1-2). The ideal worldly life of Old English poetic convention is then elaborately described. The catalogue of prosperity is reminiscent of a similar list in chapter two of Ecclesiastes:

> I got me servants and maidens, and had servants born in my house; also I had great possessions of great and small cattle above all that were in Jerusalem before me: I gathered me also silver and gold, and the peculiar treasure of things and of the provinces: I gat me men singers and women singers, and the delights of the sons of men, as musical instruments, and that of all sorts. So I was great, and increased more than all that were before me in Jerusalem. (2: 7-9)

The Scriptural passage may be compared to the following passage from The Riming Poem:

> Swa mec hyhtgiefu heold,   hygedryht befeold,
> staþolaehtum steold,   stepegongum weold
> swylce eorþe ol,   ahte ic ealdorstol,
> galdorwordum gol.   Gomen sibbe ne ofoll,
> ac waes gefest gear,   gellende sner,
> wuniendo waer   wilbec bescaer.
> Scealcas waeron scearp,   scyl waes hearp,
> hlude hlynede,   hleoþar dynede,
> sweglrad swinsade,   swiþe ne minsade. (21-29)

> (So the gift of joy remained with me, a close troop surrounded me, I possessed estates, I controlled within the range of walking all that the earth brought forth, I had the throne and sang words of power. The joy of companionship did not fail, but there was a fruitful time. The harp-string resounded, the servants were quick, the harp was shrill, rang loudly, voices made a din, music made melody and did not diminish.)

While Bradley sees in The Riming Poem the decay of the speaker's life, nowhere does the poem make clear that the speaker has lost his worldly wealth. What the poet actually describes is the prosperous man's thoughts upon realizing the vanity of his wealth and of this world. Like the speaker in Ecclesiastes, the speaker looks

> on all the works that my hands had wrought,
> and on the labour that I had laboured to do:
> and behold, all was vanity and vexation of
> spirit, and there was no profit under the
> sun. (2: 11)

The transition in The Riming Poem is equally rapid:

> . . . lif waes min longe,   leodum in gemonge,
> tirum getonge,   teala gehonge.
>   Nu min hreþer is hreoh,   heowsiþum sceoh,
> nydbysgum neah;   gewiteð nihtes in fleah
> se aer in daege waes dyre. (41-45a)

> (my life was long among the people, near to fame and devoted well to it. Now my heart is timid in a time of radiance,[56] near to a time of necessary toil. What was once cherished in the day will depart into the night in flight.)

What follows is an elaboration of the speaker's newly found wisdom. Beginning with the speaker's ominous statement in lines 44b-45a, 'what was once cherished in the day will depart into the night in flight,' the poem becomes a virtually unbroken series of description of life, the world, and man's relationship to God. The general description of disturbances in lines 45b-50, disturbances which seem to be both in the speaker's mind and in the world and society which surround him, gives way to a four-line description of a very simple ethopoeic figure similar to but less sophisticated than the ones in The Wanderer:

Werig winneð,   widsið onginneð,
sar ne sinniþ,   sorgum cinnið,
blaed his blinnið,   blisse linnið,
listum linneð,   lustum ne tinneð. (51-54)

(The weary one labours, he begins a long journey, his pain does not cease, his sorrow yawns, his prosperity ceases, his joy is ended, his skill is ended, he no longer burns with desires.)

The four lines are united in a remarkably modern manner by the abba rhyme scheme. The 'weary one' is used by the poet to describe a man's turning point in life: a man who has not been a traveller paradoxically is weary as he begins his widsið 'long journey.' The allegorical meaning is readily apparent: the rich man is a man who has seen the sin of his ways and has turned to God, ready to begin the long journey to Heaven. When the 'weary one' is deprived of everything worldly, as the poet has become through his realization that all is vanity, he, again paradoxically, no longer has desires; all his thoughts are turned toward the journey. To emphasize the theme of mutability, the 'weary one' is left to his journey while the poet turns to society, stating in lines 55-58 the utter futility of earthly society. Joy and companionship disappear; men die or choose sin; trust turns to evil, and the high throne has turned out badly.

Although the poet is aware of his debt to God, he ignores his maker for most of the poem and does not bring the Lord back into the discussion for some time. Instead, the poet moves outside society as he previously moved outside himself. 'The world proceeds in the same way,' he says in line 59; 'it brings a man's fortune." An understanding of nature and an understanding of man intermingle: the two are vitally connected. The mingling continues in the following lines, finding its finest expression in the wonderfully ambiguous half-line 63b: *bald ald þwiteþ* 'bold old overcomes.' Which noun is the subject and which the object is indeterminate; construed either way the sentence makes sense: 'a bold one overcomes an old one,' or 'age overcomes a bold one.' The first appears to be a simple gnome expressing social wisdom; the second expresses wisdom of nature.

In the next six lines, 64-69, the poet creates juxtapositions across the hemistich. These juxtapositions are principally of wisdom types, such as *searhwit solaþ, sumorhat colað* 'the beauty of skill is defiled, the heat of summer cools' (67). The juxtaposing serves to link the two types of wisdom, in this case the social wisdom of 67a to the nature or perhaps practical wisdom of 67b. In line 66, the juxtaposing of social and nature wisdom is made more powerful by the use of contrasting verbs: *foldwela fealleð, feondscip wealleð* 'the wealth of the earth falls, enmity swells.' These verbs create a cycle of history: having risen, the growing things fall, and, one assumes, the enmity too will fall after it has risen. The types of wisdom are united in lines 64-69 in a cycle of mutability. In lines 70-79, the poet returns to the first-person, stating that *wyrd* made him dig his grave, and that he cannot avoid with 'fleeing flesh' that grave, 'when night comes which takes my nation and my land from me' 73-4). The night is death, indicating that in a purely physical or legal sense the speaker still has his lands, since it is death which will remove them.

The last eight lines of the poem call for happy men to think of where the better joy is to be found, and they tell them to hasten to where they may see the true God and rejoice forever in harmony. The poem turns the mingled wisdom of mutability around, leaping from this world to the next, where the true joy and harmony lies for us all, of which the earthly joy described in the first part of the poem was only a pale reflection.

This detailed discussion of _The Riming Poem_ is necessary to an analysis of _The Wanderer_ within its context in the _Exeter Book_ because the two poems stand at the opening and closing of a block of poems which can usefully be viewed together. The long narratives which form the first part of the _Exeter Book_ end with Juliana, which immediately precedes _The Wanderer_, and _The Riming Poem_ is followed by the _Physiologus_, which should be considered on its own, although it likely is related to natural wisdom. As well, _The Riming Poem_ uses many of the same techniques and proceeds to much the same conclusion as _The Wanderer_. Most noticeably, both poems begin with the ostensibly personal, move to the general, and end in the universal, a revelation of true security. Also, both poems at the beginning acknowledge explicitly the basis of the conclusion. Finally, both poems proceed to some extent through a mingling of types of wisdom gleaned from different kinds of experience and reflection, a mingling which leads to a conclusion carrying echoes of the other sorts of wisdom. Thus one finds in the Heaven at the end of The Riming Poem the sibb 'harmony of the hall' described earlier on the level of earthly society. The ten poems as a group direct the reader to understand God by means of more concrete forms of wisdom. The assumption is that the more concrete wisdom is derived from God, and so, it can lead one back to Him.

Chapter Three: A Reading of The Wanderer

The tone of lamentation in the first part of The Wanderer, a tone repeated in the ubi sunt passage of lines 92-96, is the criterion for classifying the poem as an elegy. Despite repeated arguments against using the term, including Alain Renoir's recent comment that he is "by no means certain that there are any real elegies in Old English,"[1] the undeniable tone of lament provides support for the idea of an "elegiac" genre. Even outside the passages of lament the tone of the poem for the most part remains dark. Except for the hope implied in the opening and closing five lines and the dim spark of light in the subtle phrase ne gesweorce 'should not grow dark' in line 59b, the poem is made up of images of nightfall, cold, ruin, and decay.

But underlying the dark lament there is a brightness in the memories of joys now lost. The present sadness of loss implies that there was once a joy of possession, a joy to be returned and magnified in Heaven (115). For the wanderer" . . . there is absolutely no future whatsoever for us in this world," to quote Renoir, who goes on to comment that ". . . this is precisely the lesson which permeates Old English elegiac poetry in one way or another"(p. 71). The dark tone of earthly sadness brightened by trust in Heaven is indicative of a lesson which permeates not only the "elegies," but also most of the short poems of wisdom in the *Exeter Book*. Of the ten poems in *The Wanderer*'s group, six begin with God and return to him at the end. Of the four remaining, two--*Precepts* and *Maxims I*--spend a good deal of time discussing God. *The Seafarer* ends with a long passage concerning the divine. Only *Widsith* is more directly concerned with men than with God, but even so, God comes into the poem as it ends: *. . . se þe him syleð gumena rice / to gehealdenne, þenden he her leofað* '. . . he whom God grants the kingdom of men, to hold while he lives here' (133-34). These two lines place man's history, described in detail in the rest of the poem, subservient to God.

Moving between background and foreground, God and his power to give desired objects and positions to men are recurring concepts in these poems. Most poems call to the audience to thank God for his gifts--for example, *The Fortunes of Men*: *Forþon him nu ealles þonc aeghwa secge, / þaes þe he fore his miltsum monnum scrifeð* 'Therefore, let all men say thanks to Him for all that He gave, out of His mercy, to men' (97-8). After the long list of horrible deaths in the earlier part of the poem, this affirmation of God's mercy brightens what would otherwise be a poem almost wholly dark.

Throughout these poems, the darkness of the passing of the world is contrasted to and brightened by the hope of Heaven. In *Maxims I*, the passing of the world is linked to God's power to grant gifts to men:

Woden worhte weos,   wuldor alwalda,
rume roðeras;   þaet is rice god,
sylf soðcyning,   sawla nergend,
se us eal forgeaf   þaet we on lifgaþ,
ond eft aet þam ende   eallum wealdeð
monna cynne.   þaet is meotud sylfa. (132-7)

(Woden made idols, the Almighty made glory, the wide skies. That is the mighty God, the king of truth himself, the saviour of souls, who gave us all that we live on, and will in the end rule all mankind. He is the Lord himself.)

But God's unifying power in these poems is a large underlying pattern: it is not the only pattern, although it is the major one and the one from which others rise. God gives the world to us for us to live in and enjoy, but he gives it to us only for a time. This simple fact gives rise to the repeated description of a wise man as a sad man: he who understands the underlying fact will be saddened by it. But God has also promised a permanent gift to man to replace the loan of this world.

These poets do not express a desire to turn away from the world, except in the closing lines of *The Order of the World*:

Forþon scyle mon gehycga   þaet he meotude hyre;
aeghwylc aelda bearna   forlaete idle lustas,
laenne lifes wynne,   fundige him to lissa blisse,
forlaete heteniþa   gehwone sigan
mid synna fyrnum,   fere him to þa, sellan rice.
(98-102)

(So let everyone decide to obey God, let each of the sons of men abandon idle desires, the passing joys of life, and seek the joy of grace, forsake every hateful evil so that it sinks away with sinful crimes and let him go to a better kingdom.)

The other poets divide their concern between worldly wisdom and strictly divine wisdom, although in a world controlled by God, all wisdom has an element of the divine. Thus it is that the father in Precepts spends his time teaching his son about many things, talking of God in particular only in the eighth precept:

> "Leorna lare laergedefe,
> wene þec in wisdom, weoruda scyppend
> hafa þe in hyhte, haligra gemynd,
> ond a soð to syge, þonne þu secge hwaet." (61-4)

("Learn those teachings that are fit to be learned, accustom yourself to wisdom, hold as your hope the creator of troops and the memory of saints, and have truth as a victory whenever you speak.")

The wisdom is often loosely connected by modern philosophical standards: the father tells his son to learn wisdom and to have hope in God, making a list of things to do and things to refrain from doing. There is often no clearly defined link between statements of wisdom. In such cases, however, unity is usually provided by an implied connection related to God. In the case of the eighth precept, the connection is made in this way. One learns wisdom in order to understand the reasons which help one to have faith in God; one wishes to trust in God because, bluntly put, it is the wise thing to do when all things in the universe are controlled by Him. The statements are tied together in a loop by the concept of God. Sometimes the unifying force, God, is more difficult to discover.

Although the unity of The Wanderer has been generally acknowledged since W. W. Lawrence's article in 1902,[2] there has been little agreement about what unifies the various elements of the poem. As Roger Fowler points out,

> It may be that there is some unifying device which establishes the mutual relevance and coherence of the separate ideas in The Wanderer; but because of the miscellaneity of its contents, and their apparent looseness of connection, a single theme, or enveloping device, is difficult to agree on.[3]

Fowler himself does not find a unifying principle; instead, he seeks to demonstrate that the poem has a "double-function" (p. 3), that it operates in two semi-contradictory directions, heavenward and earthward. He goes on to say that

> The faults of previous criticisms are not, it must be stressed, predominantly errors or misinterpretations which have to be challenged, but faults of wrong emphasis or partial selection of key passages. (p. 3)

E. R. Kintgen, like Fowler, argues for multiple functions in The Wanderer, but his argument is flawed by an overemphasis on the dual nature of the poem at the expense of its unity. Kintgen writes:

> There are . . . two progressions in the poem. More obviously, the personal experiences of the wanderer provide a starting point for a philosophical consideration of the transitory nature of things earthly. But beneath this intellectual progress lies a subliminal emotional argument, carried by wordplay, which arrives at a darker conclusion: eal is wael. It is to this more frightening realization that the homiletic ending provides an alternative.[4]

Kintgen's conclusion implies that a disparity exists between the undefined "intellectual progress" and the "darker conclusion" of the "subliminal emotional argument." In fact, both the intellectual and the emotional progressions come to the same point: when the world is finished, eal is wael 'all is death' except faith in God. The conclusion of the emotional argument is no darker than that of the intellectual progression; in fact, they are the same. Fowler and Kintgen see a conflict between the didactic purpose expressed by the words and the emotional response elicited by the play of sounds in the poem. Fowler's view stems from a desire to eliminate regret for the passing of earthly wealth once one has directed one's mind to God. This chapter will show that such an elimination is unnecessary as the two responses can easily be reconciled and were reconciled by the Old English poets. In The Wanderer the concern is with both life in this world and with life in the next world after death.

The poet offers his wisdom, his understanding of proper action in life. Propriety is largely determined by an action's consequences in the after-life, which may be viewed as the major part of a Christian's extended life. The wisdom is primarily a description of the world in all its aspects (natural, practical, social, and theological) as the poet understands it, together with occasional commentary, either explicit of implicit. But the presentation differs markedly from a poem such as Maxims I, which is relatively simple in construction. The

Wanderer is more sophisticated, creating a more carefully connected structure that is at its root narrative, although out of this root grows a variegated flower which on its own is similar in construction to Maxims I. One must distinguish between the narrative root, the exile passage in the first part of the poem, and the largely gnomic flower of wisdom with which the poem concludes.

Critics have generally agreed that The Wanderer falls roughly into two halves, although their dividing line is vague. While J. C. Pope sees a "sharp cleavage"[5] after line 57, Stanley Greenfield demonstrates a fluid transition from the personal description of an exile's life to the general description of the world.[6] Huppé, on the other hand, ignores the "sharp cleavage" completely, ending the "Wanderer's Monologue" in the middle of line 62.[7] A better solution involves a blending of Pope's interpretation with Huppé's: the passage from line 58 to 62a represents a turning-point in the progress of the poem, not a sudden shift. The change, as Greenfield suggests, is a fluid transition. The four-and-one half lines themselves stand outside the constructs of images which precede and follow, but are linked to both by syntactical ambiguity:

Forþon ic geþencan ne maeg   geond þas woruld
for hwan modsefa   min ne gesweorce,
þonne ic eorla lif   eal geondþence,
hu hi faerlice   flet ofgeafon,
modge maguþegnas.   (58-62a)

(And so, I am not able to conceive of a reason in this

world for which my heart whould not grow dark when
I fully consider the life of earls, how they nobly
gave up the floor of the hall, the bold retainers.)

The ambiguity lies in the adverbial clause *þonne ic eorla lif eal geondþence / hu hi faerlice flet ofgeafon* (60-1). Who the 'earls' are is not specified. The image of noble earls 'giving up the floor' reaches back to the *winemaega hryre* 'fall of kinsmen' of line 7b and forward to the *duguþ* who have *eal gecrong* 'all died' in line 79b. In this short moment of self-examination, the wanderer's mind, in its reflection on despair, with the use of an ambiguously phrased image of mutability, ties together the two halves of the poem, the earlier "personal" musings and the later statement of general and universal wisdom.

The first half of the poem does not, of course, lack general statements of wisdom: lines 1 to 5 and lines 12 to 18 are clearly sententious expressions. The opening passage, as well as stating the principal theme of God's mercy and comfort, states, particularly in line 5b, that a man's destiny does not rest in his own hands, and by implication that God alone is in control:

Oft him anhaga   are gebideð,
metudes miltse,   þeah þe he modcearig
geond lagulade   longe sceolde
hreran mid hondum   hrimcealde sae,
wadan wraeclastas.   Wyrd bið ful araed! (1-5)

(Often the solitary one experiences mercy, the favour
of God, although, sorrowful he long has had to stir with
his hands the ice-cold sea across the ocean-paths, to walk

the exile-roads. Destiny is fully determined!)

Lines 12 to 18 assert that it is soþe 'a truth' that a man must hold his thoughts within himself, and a 'weary' or a 'fierce' mind cannot help a man:

> Ic to soþe wat
> þaet bið in eorle   indryhten þeaw,
> þaet he his ferðlocan   faeste binde,
> healde his hordcofan,   hycge swa he wille.
> Ne maeg werig mod   wyrde wiðstondan,
> ne se hreo hyge   helpe gefremman.
> Forðon domgeorne   dreorigne oft
> in hyra breostcofan   bindað faeste. . . . (11b-18)

> (I know it is a truth that it is in an earl a noble custom that he bind fast his heart-locks, hold his treasure-coffer, intend what he may. A weary mind cannot stand against destiny, and a fierce mind cannot achieve any help. Therefore, those eager for glory often bind dreariness fast in their breast-coffers.)

Again by implication, the poet suggests that some other state of mind, perhaps wisdom, can help. This inference is supported by the rephrasing of his injunction in lines 112b to 114a against speaking cares, to which an extra qualification is added: nemþe he aer þa bote cunne 'unless he already knows the remedy (for his cares)' (113b). The close of the poem clearly states that a man may discuss his problems openly if he knows the solution to them, if he has the wisdom which will enable him elne gefremman 'to achieve (deeds) with courage' (114a).

The added qualification in the restatement of this piece of wisdom is telling, for in it lies the distinction between one who has wisdom and one who yet seeks it. The wanderer has had to bind fast his own heart (19b) in the past, but he now knows that the remedy for his cares lies in turning to God, that in spite of hardship the solitary man often *are gebided* 'experiences mercy' (1b). This understanding lies behind the turning to God at the end of *The Fortunes of Men*: after a long list of cruel deaths and a short list of God's mercies, the poet asks us to thank God for all He has given us; God's gifts are obviously not always as tangible as the cruel deaths the poet lists.

The experience of mercy by the *anhaga* in *The Wanderer* need not be seen as earthly physical comforting or aid.[8] There is a clear pun in the similarity of *ar* 'mercy' and *ar* 'oar,' especially when seen in relation to the metaphor of rowing: *hreran mid hondum hrimcealde sae* 'to stir with his hands the frost-cold sea' (4). To a man who paddles the winter sea with his hands, the gift of an 'oar' (*ar*) would indeed be a 'mercy' (*ar*). But the mercy the wanderer experiences is the comfort of wisdom, the relief which comes with understanding not necessarily the reason for suffering but the certainty of future and eternal comfort finally given voice at the end of the poem.

The wanderer's description of discomfort, told almost totally in an impersonal third person,[9] demonstrates in cold, harsh terms the type of hardship a man can endure while still retaining his faith. Whether one is to see the wanderer's hardship as actual or imagined is irrelevant: a man of faith would without hesitation endure what the wanderer suggests he himself has endured.

The use of the third person invites the reader to find himself in the description, to be surprised by self-recognition in something foreign, and to find the resultant comfort of comradery in suffering. The wanderer says, *wat se þe sceal his winedryhtnes / leofes larcwidum longe forþolian*. . . . 'he who must long do without the teaching of his beloved lord knows. . . .' (37-8), describing the type of person who will be able to understand the suffering the wanderer has experienced while lacking a teaching lord. The wanderer himself is filling the role of the lord with his own *larcwidas* 'teachings' (38a). As well, the wanderer points the way to the one lord who will not be lost to death.[10]

The opening five lines of the poem, in which the wanderer begins teaching about God's mercy, have occasioned a good deal of critical debate. Two major questions have been whether the poet or the wanderer speaks these lines, and what the precise meaning of the verb *gebideð* is. Out of these questions arises the major problem of the wanderer's state as he begins the poem: has he found "consolation" or not? Those who see a progression in the poem, such as T. C. Rumble,[11] have preferred to see the wanderer passively waiting for *metudes miltse* 'God's mercy' (2a), in contrast to his active seeking at the end of the poem. But in general, despite Bruce Mitchell's "negative conclusions,"[12] the accepted translation of the word *gebideð* has become 'experiences.'[13] Of numerous translators and editors of the poem, the only one to recognize the possibility that *gebideð* comes from *gebiddan* 'to pray' rather than from *gebīdan* 'to experience, to await' is R. K. Gordon, who translates the opening five lines as

> Often the solitary man prays for favour, for the
> mercy of the Lord, though, sad at heart, he
> must needs stir with his hands for a weary
> while the icy seas across the watery ways,
> must journey the paths of exile; settled
> in truth is fate![14]

Thus, critics and translators have seen three meanings in *gebideð*, one active, 'prays,' one passive, 'waits,' and one, 'experiences,' in something of a middle voice. The three meanings need not be mutually exclusive, however. As well as being descriptive of three related actions--praying, waiting, and experiencing favour--the three actions may be seen as mingling. One might pray both in expectation and in thanks, experience favour and yet wait for more. There need not be any paradox in seeing all three meanings in the single context, provided one recognizes that the wanderer himself has achieved the wisdom to understand the experience of divine mercy. Seeing the wanderer as a wise man who does not change through the course of the poem adds richness to the opening lines and, indeed, to the whole poem, although such a reading does not meet the modern desire to witness character development. Rosemary Woolf, too, argues against reading *The Wanderer* as a presentation of a developing character:

> The very fact that it would take about ten minutes to read aloud whilst the passage of time within the poem (though past time is recalled) is unchartably long, reveals that the poet is not concerned to show, with any psychological precision, how a person learns: one may contrast it with The Pearl, where the dreamer's slow and zigzag progress towards acceptance of bereavement and submission to God's will strike a familiar chord.[15]

While the wanderer may reveal his wisdom in a gradual progression toward the divine, in retrospect, the conclusion is never in doubt: the anhaga often experiences the favour of God, as well as often waiting and praying for the same; what remains is for that favour to be more clearly defined. In this definition, the wanderer makes an imaginary journey through the world, moving in and out of the first person.[16] As he progresses, it becomes clear that worldly pleasures, which are in the poem never more tangible than memories, do not provide the comfort that the opening line suggests a man experiences. The only alternative is that named in line two, metudes miltse 'the mercy of God.'

The wanderer's journey begins as an imaginative description of an exile, a metaphoric parallel to the "actual" journey of his own life. As Bliss and Dunning point out in their edition, the opening

> five lines contain three of the types of formula distinguished by Greenfield as expressing the theme of 'exile' in Old English poetry. Anhaga denotes the 'status' of the exile; modcearig his

> 'state of mind'; *wadan wraeclaestas* 'the continuative motion of the exile in a state of excommunication'.[17]

They omit Greenfield's fourth formula, that of 'deprivation,' implied in line 7b by the wanderer's lament for *winemaega hryre* 'the death of kinsmen.'

The question of the identity of the speaker in the first five lines has recently been regarded as something of a moot point. Woolf suggests that it makes little difference who the speaker is, because the poet and the wanderer blend together.[18] Mitchell argues that the opening five lines cannot conclusively be shown to be the words of the wanderer,[19] whereas Gerald Richman says that they likely are.[20] In the end, Woolf's conclusion seems to me the most judicious. Whatever the case, the exile imagery and the statement of theme lead directly into the wanderer's imagined journey. As Rumble describes the progress,

> After the first seven lines of the poem, in which the speaker introduces us to the situation, he projects himself into the uppermost reaches of his fancy in an attempt to discover something of the way of his God toward all mankind.[21]

The wanderer's lamentation at *uhtna gehwylce* 'every dawn' (8b) provides a convenient framework for the poem. Toward the end, the coming of night is clearly described: . . . *genap under nihthelm* 'grew dark under night's cover' (96a) and . . . . *nipeð nihtscua* 'night's shadow grows dark'(104a). The final coming of nihtscua 'night's shadow'(104a) is more than simply the end of the wanderer's day; in association with the description of doomsday in lines 73-4, the coming of night is related to the coming of night at the end of the world.[22] The framing of the poem between images of dawn and the coming of night creates a strong general organization which is given added strength and embellishment by the associations that accrue from divine history. This organization suggests that the poet's purpose, in part, is the same as that of the woðbora in The Order of the World, but the purpose is achieved much more subtly in The Wanderer. Like The Order of the World, The Wanderer places man between Creation and Judgement, but the structure of The Wanderer also suggests the hope of salvation. Implicit in the coming of night is the imminence of a new dawn, such as that at the beginning of the poem. The structure implies a more or less circular argument, in which a statement made at the beginning is confirmed at the end. The ambiguous statement in the first line is restated in unequivocal terms at the end: he who seeks mercy will one day receive it. The opening dawn of lamentation is replaced after the final apocalyptic night by a new dawn of joy and security. The circle is not drawn exactly; instead, the poet describes a spiral whose end is similar to the beginning but rises to a higher level.

A structure based on the daily cycle suggests that understanding the flow of time in the poem is important. Time and space in *The Wanderer* are often the subject of critical discussion. The wanderer moves largely in a world of imagination and so is able to describe events and scenes from virtually any time; for example, his own past, the Flood and Doomsday. The main critical debate concerns the duration of the wanderer's suffering. This concern grows out of the wanderer's statement in lines 64-65a: *ne maeg wearþan wis wer, aer he age / wintra dael in woruldrice* 'a man cannot become wise before he has a deal of winters in the worldly kingdom.' If it can be proven that the wanderer is still young, then the poem can be read as a development toward wisdom. If the wanderer is old and experienced, he can be seen as remembering his former development. The distinction is important, because most of the statements in a poem with a developing wanderer would be of doubtful validity, being the product of a mind which has not yet achieved wisdom.

Mitchell argues that the span of time described may not be immensely long, whereas Woolf argues that the time in the poem is immeasurable. Arguing against R. F. Leslie, Mitchell suggests that the preterite *sceolde* in line 8a may be seen as a perfect,[23] as it has been translated above. But quibbling over specific tenses is a hopeless pursuit: structurally, there are only two tenses in Old English--present and preterite. The exile's memories are told principally in the preterite, in contrast to his present knowledge. The wanderer's long, convoluted description of his past in lines 19 to 29a contains no verbs in the present tense (except infinitives). This passage contrasts with the passage in the present tense which precedes it . The earlier passage, lines 11b to 18, describes some of the wanderer's wisdom:

Ic to soþe wat
þaet biþ in eorle   indryhten þeaw,
þaet he his ferðlocan   faeste bind,
healde his hordcofan,   hycge swa he wille.
Ne maeg werig mod   wyrde wiðstondan,
ne se hreo hyge   helpe gefremman.
Forðon domgeorne   dreorigne oft
in hyra breostcofan   bindað faeste. . . .

(I know it is a truth that it is in an earl a noble custom that he bind fast his heart-locks, hold his treasure-coffer, intend what he may. a weary mind cannot achieve any help. Therefore, those eager for glory often bind dreariness fast in their breast-coffers.)

This passage has a clear parallel, though one that is much shorter, in Ecclesiasticus:

One cannot justify unjust anger,
anger plunges a man to his downfall.
A patient man need stand firm but for a time,
and then contentment comes back to him.
For a while he holds back his words
then the lips of many herald his wisdom.
(1: 19-21)

The scriptural passage suggests what is to come in the later restatement of this wisdom in The Wanderer--the time for the final release of words and thoughts:

. . . ne sceal naefre his torn to rycene,
beorn of his breostum acyþan nemþe he aer þa bote
cunne.(112b-113)

(A man must never give voice to the anger of his heart too quickly unless he already knows the remedy.)

This wisdom is also stated in Ecclesiasticus:

> A wise man is silent till the right time comes,
> but a boasting fool ignores the proper time.
> (20: 6)

The wise father of Precepts also teaches his son similar wisdom:

> Waerwyrde sceal   wisfaest haele
> breostum hycgan,   nales breahtme hlud. (57-8)
>
> (A wise man, cautious of speech, must consider in his heart, not aloud with noise.)

The wanderer has followed both parts of this wisdom. In the past he has bided his time, as indicated by the use of the past tense when describing his time of bondage; now, in the present, he speaks, for the time has come to pass on his wisdom. Unfortunately for the wanderer, he has doubts concerning the capacity of men to understand him:

> . . . nis nu cwicra nan
> þe ic him modsefan   minne durre
> sweotule asecgan. (9b-11a)
>
> (. . . there is not now one of the living to whom I dare clearly reveal the thoughts of my heart.)

After the wanderer's description of his own difficulties in lines 19 to 29a, all told in the past tense and with the phrase geara iu 'a long time past' (22a),[24] he turns away from himself, first to describe an exile, and then to widen his vision to include the world and, finally, God, where he began in line 2[illegible]. The wanderer's own troubles are finished for the purposes of the poem; whether one sees his suffering as continuing in the absolutely imaginary world outside the poem is inconsequential. The wanderer has now begun the wanderings of his mind in space, having completed for the moment his wanderings in time.

The description of the exile is almost entirely in the present tense: between line 29 and line 57 there are only two preterite forms (*wenede* 'accustomed,' 36a, and *breac* 'enjoyed,' 44b) both describing the imaginary exile's memories of his time with the lord. The second example is modified by the phrase *in geardagum*, familiar from the opening line of *Beowulf*, where it refers to a semi-mythical, "once upon a time," when the "spear-Danes" forged their kingdom by war.

In this exile passage, a short statement of a sad fact links the solitary world of the exile to the expansive world of the wise man described after the transition of lines 58 to 62a.[25] *Wyn eal gedreas* 'joy all decays' proclaims the wanderer in line 36b. In lines 62b to 63, as the perspective moves to the world at large, the wanderer says, *Swa þes middangeard / ealra dogra gehwam dreoseð ond fealleþ* 'Thus this middle-earth every day decays and falls.' The verb *dreosan* 'to decay' links the general decay of the physical world to the decay of emotions; just as joy passes away, so do the objects which give joy in the world. This view does not change in the poem: the wise man who laments the passing of beloved objects has the same sadness the exile must feel, and the speaker himself feels sorrow at the passing of the world. But the wanderer, the speaker of the poem, possesses the wisdom expressed in Ecclesiasticus:

> Gold and silver make one's way secure,
>   but better than either, sound judgement.
> Wealth and vigor build up confidence,
>   but better than either, fear of God.
> Fear of the Lord leaves nothing wanting;
>   he who has it need seek no other support.
>   (40: 25-6)

Clearly the earth and things earthly have a value, but the greater value is in Heaven.[26]

The two parts of the poem are also linked by the image of the storm: hreosan hrim and snaw haegle gemenged 'frost and snow fall, mingled with hail' (48). In the second half of the poem, the wanderer describes:

> winde biwaune   weallas stondaþ,
> hrime bihrorene,   hrydge þa ederas. (76-7)
>
> (walls stand wound about by the wind, covered with frost, the buildings battered by storms.)[27]

The worlds described in the two halves are the same--a storm batters both--but the focus changes from line to line as the poet's interests shift from the modest examples of personal and social wisdom in the first part, to the description of exile, to the final more general thrust toward the great theological wisdom as the poem comes to a close.

For much of the poem the poet is concerned with the wisdom that comes with an awareness of mutability. He begins by eliminating social joys through the theme of exile: wyn eal gedreas. Later, he puts man back into the social context, but sends society into the exile of death. The two figures stand alone, one surrounded by memories of the society from which he has been removed, the other by memories of the society which has been removed from him. Each man must attempt to control these memories, to restrain them somehow and turn them to the purpose of aiding him in his lonely situation.

The need for control is emphasized by means of imagery of binding. In the first part the wanderer admonishes that it is a noble custom in a man þaet he his ferðlocan faeste binde,/ healde his hordcofan 'that he bind fast his heart-locks, hold his treasure-coffer/heart' (12-13a). He speaks of waþema gebind 'the bound waves' (24b), extending the image of bondage from the mind of the exile to the world aroung him. The image of binding is used similarly by The Seafarer poet:

> Calde geþrungen
> waeron mine fet, forste gebunden,
> caldum clommum. (8b-10a)
>
> (My feet were enveloped with cold, bound by frost,
> in the grip of cold.)

According to Thomas Rendall the metaphor of bondage is "frequently associated with the image of exile."[28] The metaphor is perhaps a variation of the 'deprivation' element of Greenfield's theme of exile; in the heroic context, deprivation limits a man, and fettering would metaphorically describe the limitation caused by deprivation.

The image returns at the end of the poem in a weakened form: _Til bið se þe his treowe gehealdeþ_ 'Good is he who holds his pledge' (112a). But the second half is less dominated by the image than is the first. It is the earth rather than the mind which is described as bound: _hrið hreosende hrusan bindeð_ 'falling snow binds the earth" (102a). Rather than closing and binding, however, the second half turns outward, opening its vision quickly to provide a wider view of the world than does the first half.

S. L. Clark and Julian N. Wasserman describe this progress of images in the poem:

> It appears to be the modification or transformation of the first image complex, the enclosed heart/mind, into the second, the open ruin, that lends to the poem a sense of consolation, so that the effect of the emergence of the second image complex serves as a welcome release from the compression and tension implied by the first.[29]

But the imagery is not the only aspect of the poem which "lends . . . a sense of consolation," nor is the sense of release manifested only in the image of the ruin. The sudden description of the making of a wise man (64-72), which precedes the description of the ruin, is a series of prepositional phrases related to each other principally in their subject matter--the behaviour of a wise man. The numerous negative particles in the passage offer a modest amount of continuing restraint, but the adverb _to_ 'too," repeated eight times, with its long vowel is more emphatic than the particle _ne_ which usually precedes it in this passage. The repetition of the adverb of excess overwhelms the particle of negative restraint, and so, on a verbal level the poem suddenly breaks the bonds of the first part, as the open ruins will later do on the level of imagery.

The exile's final appearance in the poem is as one whose 'cares are renewed'(55b). The reason for his sorrow is clearly stated:

> Cearo bið geniwad
> þam þe sendan sceal swiþe geneahhe
> ofer waþema gebind werigne sefan. (55b-57)

(Care is renewed for him who must very frequently
send his weary heart over the frozen waves.[30])

The metrical stress in line 57 falls on *waþema* and *werigne*. *Werigne* is an adjective modifying *sefan* 'heart,' which also receives the primary stress. The stress of *werigne* emphasizes the state of the heart. If one looks back through the poem in hope of finding a clue to understanding better the heart's state, one remembers the wanderer's admonition that *ne maeg werigmod wyrde wiðstondan* 'a weary mind cannot withstand destiny' (15). It is the sending of a weary heart over the sea in an attempt to stand against the exile's *wyrd* which renews his cares. The implication is that a strong heart or mind might be able to stand firm in the face of destiny, as the wanderer himself is able to stand firm, pointing the way to Heaven. The difficulty of 'him who must very frequently send his weary heart across the frozen sea' contrasts the actions of the wise man, who holds his weary mind within and does not release it unless it is strong and the time is appropriate.

The wise man of the second part of the poem acts properly. Knowing his strength and the *bote* 'remedy' (113b) for his suffering, he can utter the *ubi sunt* lament of lines 92 to 96. The poem as a whole is also the words of a man who has in the same way taken time to strengthen his mind to confront his *wyrd*, and has reached the point that he can speak out to counsel others.

After the sudden release of wisdom in lines 65b to 72 the wanderer provides a description of a wise man's understanding. The description continues the suddenly released wisdom of the preceding lines, which were themselves a description of a wise man's conduct. The list of a wise man's various habits has counterparts in Old Testament wisdom, for example, Ecclesiasticus 20, which contrasts the wise man's conduct with that of the foolish. In *The Wanderer*, the many weakly stressed negatives of lines 65b to 72 imply that the foolish man conducts his life exactly the way the wise man does not. While the wise man is *ne to forht, ne to faegen* 'not too fearful, not too servile'(68a), the fool is both fearful and servile.

According to the wanderer a wise man must have, in part, an understanding of the apocalypse, *þonne eall þisse woruld wela weste stondeð* 'when all the wealth of this world stands waste' (74).[31] But the vision of a vaguely future apocalypse[32] quickly becomes an examination of a harshly concrete present, *swa nu missenlice geond þisne middangeard / winde biwaune wealles stondaþ* . . . 'as now widely throughout this middle-earth wind battered walls stand' (75-6). The wanderer moves us still further back in time, retelling the history of the ruined wall and the men who lie dead under it:

Woriað þa winsalo,   waldend licgað
dreame bidrorene,   duguþ eal gecrong,
wlonc bi wealle.   Sume wig fornom,
ferede in forðwege,   sumne fugel oþbaer
ofer heanne holm,   sumne se hara wulf
deaðe gedaelde,   sumne dreorighleor
in eorþscraefe   eorl gehydde. (78-84)

(The wine-halls crumble, the rulers lie deprived of joy, the troop has all fallen, proud by the wall. War carried some away, bore them on a journey from here, one was carried over the deep sea by a bird, one the grey wolf gave death, a sad-faced man hid one in a grave.)

In the progress of the poem, this passage serves primarily to introduce the wise man who appears in line 73. Of course, the lines serve more powerful purposes than simply to further the poem's intellectual progress. Perhaps the most important function is to suggest God's mercy in an inverted retelling of the history of the world. John Burrow has argued that this passage moves from Judgement Day, through the present ruin of the world, to the destruction brought by the Flood.[33] Burrow supports his argument with both scriptural references and excerpts from other Old English poems. One problem with Burrow's argument, however, is that he gives no evidence that the poet of *The Wanderer* has described destruction by water in the lines which he considers describe the Flood. He does mention that the verb yþde 'destroyed' is used by the Genesis poet to describe the Flood and by the Wanderer poet in this passage,[34] but he ignores the pun on this word which may be the only reference to the water which was the agent of the destruction. Yþde, a variant form of ieðan 'to destroy,' was mistakenly read by modern editors of The Wanderer before W. S. Mackie as yþðe[35] and emended to the form which actually occurs in the manuscript. This modern editorial mistake by coincidence points to the pun of yþde 'destroyed' and yð 'wave, flood.' Such a pun appears in Beowulf, 420b-22a. Beowulf tells Unferþ

> . . . þāer ic fīfe geband
> ȳðde eotena cyn,   ond on ȳðum slōg
> niceras nihtes. . . .
>
> (. . . where I bound five of the giant race and
> destroyed them, slew in the sea monsters by night.)

In The Wanderer the pun is not made by juxtaposing the two words, but it is reasonable to see a punning reference to water in this word, since the only specific destruction which fits the context of the passage is the Flood, as Burrows explains.

The images of Flood and Apocalypse, linked by present decay, imply the divine mercy which is brought to the wanderer's dark and cold present and past. Here lies the proof that Oft him anhaga are gebideð. Just as God's mercy was shown to Noah and his family, it will be shown to the righteous at the Second Coming. The world today, the wanderer suggests, is very similar to the aftermath of the Flood and the aftermath of Armageddon. Fortunately, the divine mercy which follows the Flood and the Apocalypse is also by implication a part of the portrait of the wanderer's own time, a world of decay wholly consonant with the earlier depiction of the wanderer's world as *wraeclast* 'exile-path' (5a and 32a).

After the wise man has been introduced and placed into a very powerful historical context, he is asked to comment on that context.[36] What results is the *ubi sunt* lament, which is quite short, followed by a much longer reminder of the transience of the world, a passage that in part can be seen as a comment on the *ubi sunt*. The lament asks about a limited number of specific objects:

> Hwaer cwom mearg? Hwaer cwom mago? Hwaer cwom maþþumgyfa?
> Hwaer cwom symbla gesetu? Hwaer sindon seledreamas?
> Eala beorht bune! Eala byrnwiga!
> Eala þeodnes þrym! Hu seo þrag gewat
> genap under nihthelm, swa heo no waere. (92-6)

> (Where has the horse gone? Where has the youth gone? Where has gone the giver of treasure? Where has gone the banquet hall? Where are the joys of the hall? Alas bright cup! Alas armoured warrior! Alas glory of the lord! How the time has passed away, grown dark under the cover of night, as though it never were.)

The lament falls into three parts: lines 92 and 93 are direct questions; lines 94 and 95a are mournful apostrophes to the departed objects; lines 95b and 96 describe the wanderer's perception of the time of happiness which has passed away quickly. The objects of the wise man's attention are very similar in the first two parts: the horse and cup are related in their nature as property; the armoured warrior is mourned in part perhaps for his lost youth; the *maþþumgyfa* and the *þeoden* are the same figure, the leader of the hall described in line 93 as well as the wanderer's own dead lord. The wise man turns from his questioning to a simple mourning of the objects of his questioning. This mourning turns to a statement of the transience of each *þrag* 'time, age, occasion.'

The wanderer then goes on to describe, through the wise man, the fallen men by the wall in terms similar to those he used earlier in lines 78 to 84.[37] The description is dominated by the *weal wundrum heah wyrmlicum fah* 'wall wondrously high, decorated with serpent shapes' (98) and by the storm which beats upon this wall as night's shadow falls for the last time in the poem. The nature of the wall has been much debated, whether it is a Roman ruin, the remains of a neolithic barrow, or an Anglo-Saxon wooden wall, for example.[38] But the value of such discussions is limited: no meaning has been suggested which adds greatly to the richness of the poem. It is clear to the reader that the wall is, on a literal level, some form of ancient structure, but the literal meaning does not add greatly to the overall meaning of the poem.

Understanding the wall as a conventional "wall of death" theme illuminates its presence in a poem so concerned with death.[39] But even more helpful is an understanding of the "hero on the beach" type-scene and the variations critics have illustrated.[40] The type-scene describes four necessary elements: a hero on a beach, at a door, or perhaps any symbolic interface between worlds[41]; a number of companions; a bright or flashing light; and the beginning or end of a voyage. In _The Wanderer_, the wall represents the meeting, or interface, of two worlds, specifically, the worlds of life and death. The theme of "the wall of death" suggests this meaning without the connotations brought by the "hero on the beach" type-scene. It is quite possible to see the wise man as the hero, the dead men being his companions, the setting sun or the bright cup filling the role of the gleaming light: the image of journey is implicit in the poem from the beginning. One might not wish to go so far as to suggest that the wise man or the wanderer is, in fact, a dead man who has crossed the threshold between this world and the next,[42] but the fact that the wanderer/wise man provides a link, at least in awareness, to the next world is difficult to deny. That is, after all, the point of the conclusion of the poem: the wanderer provides the reader with wisdom, with knowledge of this world and the next.

The conclusion of the wise man's speech re-uses the objects of his lament, now answering, to a point, his _ubi sunt_ questioning:

Her bið feoh laene, her bið freond laene,
her bið mon laene, her bið maeg laene,
eal þis eorþan gesteal idel weorþeð. (108-110)

(Here property is transitory, here friendship is transitory, here a man is transitory, here a woman is transitory, all of the structure of this earth becomes idle.)

The adjective laene 'transitory' relates to the verb laenan 'to lend, grant, lease.' The connotation of the word implies that the things which pass away are never truly owned by men: they are a loan from God. What appears at first to be an unsatisfying, vague answer to his first question becomes precise. Where are the things of the world? God lent them to men for a time. The repetition of eorþan 'earth's' in lines 106b and 110a, along with the locative phrase under heofonum 'under Heaven' (107b), serves to emphasize that it is the earth that is being described, and that the earth is to be distinguished from Heaven. This distinction clears the way for the final statement of the location of eternal security in line 115.

The wanderer reveals his wisdom slowly. Before he clearly states what he merely implies in the opening speech of the anhaga, he tours the ruins of the earth, comparing them to the great destruction of both his own personal history and of Christian history. As well, he describes an exile's life in conventional terms but uses these terms to show that the present world he is to describe between the Flood and the Second Coming is, in fact, not unusual. Just as the wanderer's lord and friends have fallen wlonc bi wealle 'proud by the wall' (80a), so also will all lords and friends on earth.

The wise man shows some love of worldly wealth--thus his lament; but he is also aware of the fact that such wealth must only be temporary, and he is also aware of where he must finally turn his heart. Susie Tucker's question concerning the material world has an affirmative answer: "May we not regret its lost glories while we acknowledge them to have been vain?"[43] Any argument which sees in The Wanderer a condemnation of love of the material world[44] must confront the words of the wise man. Such an interpretation can function only if it assumes that the wise man is not truly wise because he expresses a love of worldly things, an assumption which would force one to accept that the poet has lied for no reason about the character of the wise man. There is absolutely no evidence in the poem to support this view: an undeniably wise man finds enough value in the world to lament eloquently its passing as he turns to the joy of heaven. Thomas Campbell has pointed out that even

> the homilists did not condemn the glory of treasure itself; rather, they considered man's sinful preoccupations more important. And, although they were doctrinally opposed to the laying up of treasure on this earth, the poets writing in even thoroughly Christian contests could not resist the comforting concretization of achievement which gold and treasure represented.[45]

This appreciation of the worldly would seem to lie behind the father's words to his son in Precepts: Seldan snottor *guma sorgleas blissað* 'a wise man seldom rejoices without sorrow' (54). The rejoicing of a man who is wise will always be marred by his understanding of the world and the sadness which comes with that understanding. If he is enjoying the warmth of a hall, he is saddened by its inevitable passing; if he rejoices in the impending security of Heaven, he is saddened by its price: the loss of the world.

While it is obviously a varied poem, *The Wanderer* is unified because of the nature of its subject, Christian wisdom. The poet seeks to demonstrate that all the world is united in a common debt to God the *Scyppend* 'Creator' (85b), and more importantly, that our only eternal hope lies in a faith in God, the *faeder on heofonum* 'Father in Heaven' (115a). The latter concern is the most obvious being explicitly stated in the conclusion to the poem, and implied in the opening five lines.

The poems which follow *The Wanderer* in the *Exeter Book* provide a number of statements illustrating and expanding similar statements in *The Wanderer*. Out of the comments of the various poets one can construct to some extent the shared world-view of the poets. This view reflects a world carefully ordered and unified by God. In fact, the poems of the *Exeter Book* are all to some extent expressions of perceptions of this order and unity. The Riddles are short descriptions of items in their natural context.[46] The Christian narratives present men and women who have acted properly as a part of the order of the world.[47] Unlike the riddles, which speak essentially through metaphor, or the Christian narratives, which demonstrate by example, the short poems beginning with The Wanderer usually explain the world in general terms, sometimes abstract, sometimes concrete, depending on the object of the description. This general description and explanation of the various aspects of the universe, from the natural to the theological, is the expression of wisdom.

With many aspects paralleling the other short poems, The Wanderer is a remarkably full and rich portrait of the world as the poet understands it. The poem derives its acknowledged unity largely from the perceived unity of the world. Alvin Lee has outlined the mythological background of the Anglo-Saxon poetic world-view in The Guest Hall of Eden. The myths Lee describes outline the entire history of the universe from the creation of "the Celestial Kingdom" (p. 17) to Doomsday. Lee explains:

> Each individual myth is an episode in a total narrative and is capable of revealing certain basic truths about the nature of God and Christ--in relation to man, to other heavenly beings, and to the devils in Hell. (p. 81)

Whereas many of the longer poems such as Juliana and Guthlac may fit well into a specific part of the Old English mythology, the short poems in general, and The Wanderer in particular, stand apart from the chronology of this mythology, for they look at all the space and time of the universe. The Wanderer, in fact, inverts the chronology of history, beginning its one historical passage with the future and ending with the Flood, far in the past. The importance of this inversion to the wisdom of The Wanderer is the emphasis it places on the similarity of all Ages. This similarity is perhaps the most important revelation the wanderer makes, for in it lies the basis of the hope for mercy he derives from his wisdom. Like Deor's refrain,[48] the wanderer's discussion of the wise man brings forward past examples of God's mercy, relating the past difficult situation to the present and implying that relief will come as it has in the past.

The woðbora of The Order of the World describes with a simple image the hope held by the inexorable cycle God has created:

> . . . ond þis leoht beorht
> cymeð morgna gehwam   ofer misthleoþu
> wadan ofer waegas   wundrum gegierwed,
> ond mid aerdaege   eastan snoweð
> wlitig ond wynsum   wera cneorissum;
> lifgendra gehwam   leoht forð biereð
> bronda beorhtost,   ond his brucan mot
> aeghwylcon eorþan,   þe him eagna gesihð
> sigora soðcyning   syllan wolde.
> Gewiteð ðonne mid þy wuldor   on westrodor
> forðmaere tungol   faran on heape,
> oþþaet on aefenne   ut garsecges
> grundas paeþed,   glom oþer cigd;
> niht aefter cymeð,   healdeð nydbibod
> halgan dryhtnes.   Heofentorht swegle
> scir gescyndeð   in gesceaft godes
> under foldan faeþm,   farende tungol.
> Forþon naenig fira   þaes frod leofað
> þaet his maege aespringe   þurh his aegne sped witan,
> hu geond grund faereð   goldtorht sunne

> in þaet wonne genip   under waetra geþring,
> oþþe hwa þaes leohtes   londbuende
> brucan mote, siþþan heo ofer brim hweorfed.
> (59b-81)

> (and this bright light comes every morning over the mist-cliffs, travelling over the waves, decorated wondrously, and hastens from the east at dawn, beautiful and uplifting to men; the brightest of flames bears its light forth to all living things and may be enjoyed by each on earth to whom the true king of victories has given sight of his eyes. The most famous star then goes in company with its glory into the western sky until in the evening it treads the ground and calls out of the sea another gloom; night comes afterwards, obeys the command of the holy Lord. The clear, heaven-bright sun, a wandering star, hastens under the earth, according to God's plan. Truly no man lives so wise that he can understand by his own strength its sinking down, how the gold-bright sun journeys across the ground into the wan darkness under the water's cover, or which of those who dwell on land may enjoy its light after it has departed over the sea.)

Although the wodbora acknowledges that no man can understand the forces behind the simple, common-sense observation that the sun rises each morning, he derives from this observation of the incomprehensible the potential for hope: the sun will always come back, there will always be a dawn, because everything in the universe healded nydbibod / halgan dryhtnes 'obeys the command of the holy Lord' (72b-73a). Although a man may not understand the reasons the world works as it does, he can find, even in the cycle of day and night, a basis for hope and faith in God.

The daily cycle underlies The Wanderer, but it is a very subtle suggestion of hope, unlike the elaboration of The Order of the World. In The Wanderer hope is more clearly inspired by remembering the Lord's mercies in past times of difficulty. *The Wanderer* again operates with great subtlety, alluding to times of destruction and relating them to the present. *The Fortunes of Men* functions similarly, but on a much more homely level. Instead of Flood and Apocalypse, *The Fortunes of Men* relies on images of personal disaster and personal relief. More than half of the poem (1-63) describes terrible deaths, mostly dishonourable, which may befall a man. Like the exile portion of *The Wanderer*, the first part of *The Fortunes of Men* has a tendency, with its unrelieved hardship, to overshadow the final portion of the poem. The last lines of *The Fortunes of Men* (64-98) turn from death to life and describe the joys God allows man, ending with a call to praise God *þaes þe he fore his miltsum monnum scrifeð* 'for that which He, out of His mercy, grants to men' (98). Although the list of good fortunes may seem "relatively feeble"[49] coming after the sinking list of deaths, it is remarkable in its presence. Despite the horrible slaughter the poet has described, he is able to find a reason for faith and hope in life's simple joys, described in the closing lines. It is a much greater feat for the wanderer to find faith in a life with none of the simple joys, and in a world marked by pervasive decay as well as individual death. But the wanderer has found that faith. Despite the hardship he has experienced and the death he has witnessed, a fate he sees to be common to all men, he is able to conclude his description of life *Wel bið þam þe him are seceð, / frofre to faeder on heofonum, þaer us* *eal seo faestnung stondeð* 'It will be well for him who seeks mercy, the comfort of the Father in Heaven, where security waits for us all' (114b-115). The wanderer has shown that all security in this world is temporary, but he tells the reader of a superior existence in heaven.

The Wanderer and *The Fortunes of Men* emphasize the painful side of life and death, but in each there is a compensation provided by the mercy of God. *The Gifts of Men*, which immediately follows *The Wanderer* in the manuscript, emphasizes the joy that God, in His mercy, gives to men:

Ne bið aenig þaes earfoð saelig
mon on moldan, ne þaes medespedig,
lytelhydig, ne þaes laethydig,
þaet hine se argifa ealles biscyrge
modes craefta oþþe on wordcwidum,
þy laes ormod sy ealra þinga,
þara þe he geworhte in woruldlife,
geofona gehwylcre. Naefre god demeð
þaet aenig eft þaes earm geweorðe. (8-17)

> (There is no a man on earth so wretched, so little gifted, so small minded, so slow minded, that the giver of mercy cuts him off wholy from skills of the mind or deeds of strength, from intelligence or speech, lest he despair of everything he may have achieved in worldly life, of every gift. God never judges that any one should become that wretched.)

Even the abject exile the wanderer has been is saved from despair by the skills of his mind which enable him first to fetter his sorrow, and then to rise above his wretched physical condition to see that his spiritual condition need not sink so low, providing he maintains a firm faith in God. The fact that he 'prays for mercy' (1b) and 'seeks mercy' (114b) assures that at some point in his life he 'experiences mercy' (1b).

The Wanderer is a very rich poem which has accommodated an amazingly varied number of critical approaches. Like the wisdom books of the Old Testament, *The Wanderer* is a blend of materials, from the undeniably elegiac tone of the wise man's lament, to the homiletic final turning to Heaven, which is the nearest the poem comes to an expression of joy. As well, the first half of the poem is dominated by the theme of exile, whereas the second half concerns the passive decay or active destruction of the world in general, whether the decay or destruction be seen as the Flood, the time of the Second Coming, or the general dissolution every Age seems to see in itself. Scattered throughout the poem are gnomic statements which comment on the hardship and decay in a general way, overtly instructing the reader. This overt didacticism is divided into two parts, as is the universe, and as is the poem itself, into the secular and the divine, the heroic-exilic and the apocalyptic, finding a final expression in the two sentences of the four-line conclusion; the juxtaposed types of wisdom are united in theology:

> Til bið se þe his treowe gehealdeþ, ne sceal
> naefre his torn to rycene,
> beorn of his breostum acyþan nemþe he aer þa
> bote cunne,
> eorl mid elne gefremman. Wel bið þam þe him
> are seceð
> frofre to faeder on heofonum þaer us eal seo
> faestnung stondeð. (112-115)

> (Good is he who holds his trust, and who never speaks his anger too quickly unless he already knows the remedy, to achieve it with courage. It will be well for him who seeks mercy, the comfort of the Father in Heaven, where security stands for us all.)

In the world of _The Wanderer_ God is the unifying factor. The presence of the Eternal in the background of a portrait of mutability is a fine recreation of the often unseen presence of God in an obviously changing world. _The Wanderer_, as a description of the universe, is an expression of wisdom. The wanderer himself has lived a richly varied life, his experience bringing him to a state of wisdom. His wisdom reflects all aspects of life and death, and is expressed in a primarily didactic manner. It is this concern to teach the reader about God which unifies the poem.

Conclusion

Past criticism of The Wanderer has tended to see the poem as either a penitential work directed toward God or, more frequently, as an elegy lamenting the losses of this world and seeking personal consolation. While the poem does turn its attention heavenward, it is directed primarily toward men on earth. Although it finds a consolation for the world's mutability, the consolation is general and all inclusive rather than personal. The speaker in the poem draws on both his own experience and on wisdom derived from general experience to construct an outlook which both regrets the loss of worldly things and urges a turning to God as the one immutable security. The speaker takes the role of the wise man instructing his disciples, a figure who appears in a number of the poems accompanying The Wanderer in the Exeter Book. These other poems, less often studied by critics, show a similar concern to instruct men in the responses available to those who are wise.

Interpretation of the poem in the context of wisdom literature, unlike rigid classification by genre, does not restrict the poem. The term "elegy" retains classical connotations inappropriate to the Old English context. As well, critics have struggled to define the "elegy" in Old English but have not yet produced a universally acceptable definition.

Another genre, "consolatio" has been put forward on the basis of the poet's rhetorical devices. This genre, too, originates from Latin literature, and although it may be constructively applied to *The Wanderer*, it takes no account of the clearly Old English stylistic devices used by the poet.

An advantage in examining *The Wanderer* as an example of wisdom literature is that this classification does not force the poem into a predetermined generic category; it avoids reductivism and allows the critic to see the poem move beyond more narrow generic expectations. As well, a substantial body of related poems in the *Exeter Book*, including the so-called "elegies," may profitably be included under the heading of wisdom literature, works concerned with teaching men truths about life and the world. This teaching is generally based on experience, either personal or, in the case of traditional wisdom, on the collective experience of numerous generations. *The Wanderer* is largely concerned with wisdom ostensibly derived from experience, although the experiences described are likely purely metaphoric, used to disguise and affirm traditional wisdom. This wisdom is finally revealed at the end of the poem in the simple statement: *Wel bið þam þe are seceð, / frofre to faeder on heofonum, þaer us eal seo faestnung stondeð* 'It will be well for him who seeks favour, the comfort of the Father in Heaven, where security waits for us all' (114b-115).

Notes to Chapter One

[1] N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 153.

[2] L. J. Lloyd, *The Library of Exeter Cathedral* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1967), p. 18.

[3] Max Förster discusses at length the donations of Leofric in chapter two of *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry* (London: Percy Lund, Humphries, 1933), 10-32 (hereafter referred to as *The Exeter Book Facsimile*). Förster also edits the list of donations which has been added to the beginning of the *Exeter Book*.

[4] Benjamin Thorpe, *Codex Exoniensis* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1842); Christian W. M. Grein, *Bibliothek der angelsachsischen Poesie* (Gottingen, 1857-58); Richard P. Wulker, *Bibliothek der angelsachsischen Poesie* (Leipzig, 1881-98); Israel Gollancz, *The Exeter Book*, vol.I (London: Early English Text Society, 1895), and vol. II, ed. W. S. Mackie (1934); George Philip Krapp and Elliot Van Kirk Dobbie, *The Exeter Book* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936).

All quotations from Old English poetry, unless otherwise indicated, follow the editions of *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*: *The Junius Manuscript*, ed. George Philip Krapp, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931); *The Vercelli Book*, ed. George Philip Krapp (New York: Columbia University press, 1932); *The Exeter Book*, Krapp and Dobbie, eds.; *Beowulf and Judith*, ed. Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie (New York: Columbia University Press, 1953); *The Paris Psalter and the Meters of Boethius*, ed. George Philip Krapp (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932); and, *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ed. Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942). References to *Beowulf* are to the third edition of Fr. Klaeber (Boston: Heath, 1950).

[5] *The Exeter Book Facsimile*.

[6] Roy F. Leslie, ed., *The Wanderer* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966); and, T. P. Dunning and A. J. Bliss, eds., *The Wanderer* (London: Methuen, 1969).

[7] A few alternative titles have been suggested, for example: "Mutability," by B. F. Huppé, "The *Wanderer*: Theme and Structure," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 42

(1943), 517; "The Exile's Consolation," by R. M. Lumiansky, "The Dramatic Structure of the Old English Wanderer," Neophilologus, 34 (1950), 111; and "The Exile," by R. A. Peters, "Philosophy and Theme of the Old English Poem 'The Exile'," Neophilologus, 65 (1981), 288-91.

[8] The history of this school of criticism, which had its roots in the German Romantic movement, is described and discussed by E. G. Stanley in The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism (Cambridge: Brewer, 1975); first published in Notes and Queries, 209 (1964), 204-9, 242-50, 282-7, 324-31, 455-63; 210 (1965), 9-17, 203-7, 285-93, 322-7.

[9] C. C. Ferrell, "Old Germanic Life in the Anglo-Saxon 'Wanderer' and 'Seafarer'," Modern Language Notes, 9 (1894), 201.

[10] Volume II, Antiquae Literaturae Septentrionalis, (Oxford: Sheldon, 1705; rpt. in reduced facsimile, New York and Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970).

[11] Wanley, p. 281.

[12] Wanley, p. 281.

[13] B. J. Timmer, in "Sectional Divisions of Poems in Old English Manuscripts," Modern Language Review, 47 (1952), 319-22, suggests that the divisions are between compositional units when they occur within poems, and so, one would not expect a great break in the flow of thought.

[14] See Craig Williamson, ed., The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 23-4.

[15] Morton W. Bloomfield, "Understanding Old English Poetry," Annuale Mediaevale, 9 (1968), 25, n. 37; T. A. Shippey, ed., Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English (Cambridge: Brewer, 1976), p. 1, n.

[16] Krapp and Dobbie, introduction to The Exeter Book, p. x.

[17] As an example of the extreme, see Ralph W. Elliott, "The Wanderer's Conscience," English Studies, 39 (1958), 193-200.

[18] Rosemary Woolf, "The Wanderer, The Seafarer and the Genre of Planctus," in Anglo-Saxon Poetry, eds. Lewis E. Nicholson and Dolores Warwick Frese (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), p. 192.

[19] Dunning and Bliss, pp. 94-5.

[20] Dunning and Bliss, p. 80.

[21] T. A. Shippey, *Old English Verse* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1972), p. 53.

[22] Thorpe, introduction to *Codex Exoniensis*, p. vii, and J. J. Conybeare, *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London, 1826; rpt. New York: Haskell, 1964), p. 244.

[23] J. E. Cross, "On the Genre of *The Wanderer*," *Neophilologus*, 45 (1961), 63-75.

[24] For example, James F. Doubleday, "The Three Faculties of the Soul in *The Wanderer*," *Neophilologus*, 53 (1969), 189-194.

[25] B. J. Timmer, "The Elegiac Mood in Old English Poetry," *English Studies*, 24 (1942), 33-44.

[26] Stanley B. Greenfield, "The Old English Elegies," in *Continuations and Beginnings*, ed. E. G. Stanley (London: Nelson, 1966), pp. 142-75.

[27] Martin Green, ed., *The Old English Elegies* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1983).

[28] Greenfield, "Old English Elegies," p. 143.

[29] Lines 1-6 could be considered a gnomic generalization and lines 15-18, 65b-77, 108-110, and even the conclusion, 112-115, are generalized enough to be considered either gnomic or constructed on the pattern of gnomes.

[30] Greenfield, *A Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York: New York University Press, 1965), p. 216.

[31] Alvin A. Lee, *The Guest-Hall of Eden* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 128.

[32] For example, B. F. Huppé, *Doctrine and Poetry* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1959), p. 235.

[33] R. C. Boer was the first to argue that *The Wanderer* is not in its original form, being a composite of a number of poems: "Wanderer und Seefahrer," *Zeitschrift fur deutsche Philologie*, 35 (1902), 1-28. Lawrence responded in the same year, defending unity: "*The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*," *Journal of Germanic Philology*, 4 (1902), 460-480. A

variation was suggested half a century later by A. A. Prins, "*The Wanderer* (and *The Seafarer*)," *Neophilologus*, 48 (1964), 237-51. No response came for a decade: Karen A. Mullen, "*The Wanderer*: Considered Again," *Neophilologus*, 58 (1974), 74-81.

[34] R. F. Leslie, in the introduction to his edition, refers the reader to Lawrence for a discussion of the theories of critics who "believed that the poem was fundamentally the product of pagan times and were concerned to show that the Christian references in it were interpolations by monastic revisers, whose alleged contributions were deprecated" (p. 1).

[35] P. L. Henry provides a good summary of the poem and the criticism in *The Early English and Celtic Lyric* (London: Unwin, 1966), pp. 161-75.

[36] Greenfield, "Old English Elegies," p. 146.

[37] There is a touch of historical irony in that the poem most concerned with decay, *The Ruin*, is so damaged in the manuscript, while the poem whose thrust is toward the eternal has survived without important damage.

[38] Timmer writes: "the poem expresses that one should not lose hope through misfortunes and hardships, but put one's trust in God, for in Heaven one finds the security that one cannot find on earth, where *lif is laene* . . . and time is of no significance" ("Elegiac Mood," p. 38.) Martin Green in "Man, Time, and Apocalypse in *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, and *Beowulf*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 74 (1975), 502-518, speaks of the poems as presentations of "the plight of man in time." What Green fails to emphasize is *The Wanderer*'s effect of finally lifting man out of time and placing him with the father in heaven *þaer us eal seo faestnung stondeð* (115b).

[39] Greenfield, "*The Wanderer*: A Reconsideration of Theme and Structure," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 50 (1951), 451-65; "The Theme of Spiritual Exile in Christ I," *Philological Quarterly*, 32 (1953), 321-28; "The Wife's Lament Reconsidered," *PMLA*, 68 (1953), 907-12; "The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of 'Exile' in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 200-206. It is interesting to note, as Greenfield does, that the exile theme appears in *Christ* (ll. 363-77, for example), the first poem of the *Exeter Book*. The passage in *Christ* is a prologue to a prayer for mercy similar to that the wanderer implies all men should make. It indicates the direction of past critical interest that the decay of the old paganism has been used to link poems

but the faithful turning to God in Heaven has rarely been noticed as a unifying factor in the manuscript.

[40] Leonard H. Frey, "Exile and Elegy in Anglo-Saxon Christian Epic Poetry," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 62 (1963), 293-302.

[41] Frey, p. 295.

[42] Greenfield, "The Formulaic Expression," p. 201. The four characteristics are: status, deprivation, state of mind, and movement in or into exile.

[43] Greenfield, "The Formulaic Expression," p. 201. "The four features I have named seem to have received the greatest emphasis in Old English exile images."

[44] Krapp and Dobbie in their introduction to The Exeter Book write: ". . . the internal rimes in ll. 5b, 7b, 11b, 31b, 39b, together with the unusual concreteness of the vocabulary, and the use of a number of words elsewhere unrecorded in Anglo-Saxon, set this poem quite apart from the other lyric-elegiac texts in the Exeter Book" (p. lxv). S. A. J. Bradley in the introduction to his translation of The Ruin in Anglo-Saxon Poetry (London: Dent, 1982), p. 401 comments: "The enigmatic nature of the poem may be no accident: is The Ruin perhaps a kind of aenigma belonging with the riddles which now follow in the MS? There would be room in the damaged ending for a formula challenging the audience to explain the circumstances described." William C. Johnson, Jr. in "The Ruin as Body-City Riddle," Philological Quarterly, 59 (1980), 397-411 argues largely on the basis of diction that, to be seen in its proper context, The Ruin must be viewed as a riddle: "The riddling amalgam of Body-House-City language recalls older traditions and anticipates Christian adjustments" (p. 408).

[45] Donald K. Fry, in "Old English Formulaic Themes and Type-Scenes," Neophilologus, 52 (1968), 48-54, defines a theme as "a recurring concatenation of details and ideas, not restricted to a specific event, verbatim repetition, or certain formulas, which forms an underlying structure for an action or description" (p. 53).

[46] See Martin Green, "Man, Time, and Apocalypse."

[47] Cross, "Genre."

[48] Susie I. Tucker, "Return to The Wanderer," Essays in Criticism, 8 (1958), 236.

[49] Cf. Beowulf, 2231b-2277; Christ, 363-377; Andreas, 290-314; Genesis, 1010-1021; and Maxims I, 100-104.

[50] See Martin Green, "Man, Time, and Apocalypse."

[51] These poems are in the Exeter Book and in MS 201, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

[52] See Beowulf, 2247-2266.

[53] See Ralph W. V. Elliott, "Conscience."

[54] Michael D. Cherniss, Ingeld and Christ (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), p. 24.

[55] Lee, p. 1.

[56] J. C. Pope, "Dramatic Voices in The Wanderer and The Seafarer," in Franciplegius, eds. J. B. Bessinger, Jr., and R. P. Creed (New York: New York University Press, 1965), pp. 164-93, proposes a dialogue theory; Greenfield in "Min, Sylf, and 'Dramatic Voices in The Wanderer and The Seafarer'," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 68 (1969), 212-220, argues against Pope's theory, and Pope himself in "Second Thoughts on the Interpretation of The Seafarer," Anglo-Saxon England, 3 (1974), 75-86, retracts his theory.

[57] Lawrence, p. 467.

[58] Lawrence, p. 467.

[59] B. F. Huppé, "Theme and Structure," pp. 516-38.

[60] Greenfield, "The Old English Elegies," p. 147. W. F. Klein, "Purpose and 'Poetics' of The Wanderer and The Seafarer," in Anglo-Saxon Poetry, eds. Nicholson and Frese (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), p. 212.

[61] Lawrence, p. 474.

[62] Huppé, "Theme and Structure," p. 537.

[63] D. W. Robertson, "Historical Criticism," English Institute Essays, 1950 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 18.

[64] Thomas C. Rumble, "From Eardstapa to Snottor on Mode: The Structural Principal of 'The Wanderer'," Modern Language Quarterly, 19 (1958), 225-30.

[65] Rumble, p. 230.

[66] Dunning and Bliss, p. 80.

[67] Leslie, pp. 4-5.

[68] Bruce Mitchell, "More Musings on Old English Syntax," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 69 (1968), pp. 53-4.

[69] Klein, p. 218.

[70] Klein, p. 213.

[71] Woolf, in "Planctus," writes: "it is possible to find a pattern in the poem without resolving who the speaker is at various points, a question wnich may well be without answer. The reason that it is unanswerable is that at the beginning and end either the Wanderer speaks partially with the voice of the poet-narrator or the poet narrator speaks partially with the voice of the Wanderer" (p. 198).

[72] Klein, p. 210.

[73] Doubleday, "Three Faculties,"

[74] See Elliott, "Conscience"; Green, "Man, Time, and Apocalypse"; Marijane Osborne, "The Vanishing Seabirds in The Wanderer," Folklore, 85 (1974), 122-27; James L. Rosier, "The Literal-Figurative Identity of The Wanderer," PMLA, 79 (1964), 366-9; Doubleday, "The Limits of Philosophy: A Reading of The Wanderer," Notre Dame English Journal, 7 (1972), 14-22; Peter A. M. Clemoes, "Mens absentia cogitans in The Seafarer and The Wanderer," in Medieval Literature and Civilization, eds. Derek A. Pearsall and Ronald A Waldron (London: Athlone, 1969), pp. 62-77; Neil Hultin, "The External Soul in The Seafarer and The Wanderer," Folklore, 88 (1977), 39-45; F. N. M. Diekstra, "The Wanderer 65b-72: The Passions of the Mind and the Cardinal Virtues," Neophilologus, 55 (1971), 73-88; Vivian Salmon, "The Wanderer and The Seafarer and the Old English Conception of the Soul," Modern Language Review, 55 (1960), 1-10. All deal to a large extent with the mental processes of the wanderer, whether they be progressions, explorations, or affirmations.

[75] Shippey, Poems of Wisdom, p. 1, n.

[76] Shippey, preface to Poems of Wisdom.

[77] See Greenfield, "Formulaic Expression."

[78] Doubleday, "The Three Faculties," p. 189.

[79] B. J. Timmer, "Wyrd in Anglo-Saxon Prose and Poetry,"

Neophilologus, 26 (1941), 24-33, 213-28. Wyrd is by no means the skeletal god of the Beowulf comic book series. See in particular Beowulf: Dragon Slayer, I, No. 3 (1975), 6.

[80] Timmer, "Wyrd," p. 222.

[81] Dunning and Bliss, 71-74.

[82] Leslie, p. 66, note on line 5. Leslie glosses wyrd 'course of events.'

[83] Paul Beekman Taylor, "Charms of Wynn and Fetters of Wyrd in The Wanderer," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 73 (1972), 452.

[84] See Cross, "Genre"; E. G. Stanley, "Old English Poetic Diction and the Interpretation of The Wanderer, The Seafarer, and The Penitent's Prayer," Anglia, 73 (1955), 413-66; Woolf; Doubleday, "The Three Faculties"; and Diekstra.

[85] See Elliott, "Conscience," and Rumble "Eardstapa."

[86] Bloomfield, p. 25, n. 37.

[87] See William Alfred, "The Drama of The Wanderer," in The Wisdom of Poetry, eds. Larry D. Benson and Siegfried Wenzel (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1982), pp. 31-44.

[88] See, for example, Bruce Mitchell's three papers: "An Old English Syntactical Reverie," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 68 (1967), 139-49; "More Musings on Old English Syntax," NM, 69 (1968), 53-63; "Some Syntactical Problems in The Wanderer," NM, 69 (1968), 172-98; and Gerald Richman, "Speaker and Speech Boundaries in The Wanderer," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 81 (1982), 469-79.

[89] Dunning and Bliss, and Leslie.

[90] Robertson, "Historical Criticism."

[91] Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry. Huppé extends his theory to more poems in The Web of Words (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1970).

[92] For example, Woolf, "Planctus" and Cross, Latin Themes in Old English Poetry, Diss. Lund 1962 (Bristol: Arrowsmith, 1962).

[93] See Philip B. Rollinson, "The Influence of Christian

doctrine and exegesis on Old English poetry: an estimate of the current state of scholarship," Anglo-Saxon England, 2 (1973), 271-84.

[94] Robertson, p. 4.

[95] Robertson, p. 14.

[96] George V. Smithers, "The Meaning of The Seafarer and The Wanderer," Medium Aevum, 26 (1957), 137-53, and 28 (1959), 1-22, 99-104.

[97] Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry, pp. 233-35.

[98] Cross, "Genre."

[99] Cross, "Genre," p. 72.

[100] Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry, pp. 151-2.

[101] Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry, p. 152.

[102] Dorothy Whitelock, "The Interpretation of The Seafarer," in The Early Cultures of North-West Europe, ed. Sir Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), pp. 261-72, looks at The Seafarer as the speech of a *peregrinus* or "voluntary exile." The wanderer and the exile he describes are not voluntary exiles, but the wise man may be. In any case, all are in exile and seek entrance to Heaven, as Whitelock argues the seafarer seeks.

[103] Robertson, p. 14.

[104] Robertson, p. 5-6.

[105] Tucker, p. 236.

[106] Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry, p. 235.

[107] Genesis A, lines 2791b-93a.

[108] Bloomfield, p. 25.

[109] See Tucker.

[110] The New American Bible, translated by members of the Catholic Biblical Association of America (New York: Nelson, 1971), p. 524.

[111] Klein, p. 218.

[112] The New American Bible, p. 686.

[113] þaes sy þam halgan þonc,
þaet he usic geweorþade, wuldres ealdor,
ece dryhten, in ealle tid. (*Seafarer*, 122b-124)

(Thanks be to the holy one, that he has honoured us,
the eternal Lord, prince of wonder, for all time.)

[114] Forþon him nu ealles þonc aeghwa secge,
þaes þe he fore his miltsum monnum scrifeð. (97-8)

(Thus, now let all say thanks to him for all which he,
out of his mercy, has allotted to man.)

[115] For example,

Hie þa wintrafela woruld bryttedon,
sinc aetsomne, sibbe heoldon
geara mengeo. (1724-26a)

(They then for many years enjoyed the world, kept
treasure and family harmony for many years.)

Hine cyning engla,
metod moncynnes mundbyrde heold,
wilna waestmum and worulddugeðum,
lufum and lissum. . . . (1946b-49a)

(The king of angels, the lord of mankind kept him
under protection with the fruit of his desires and
with worldly goods, with favour and with joy.)

[116] Susie Tucker writes of the gnomic lines in *The Wanderer*: "They are the result of observation and experience, and counterparts to them may be found in the *Book of Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*" (p. 229).

[117] The New American Bible, p. 524.

[118] Samuel Sandmel, in *The Enjoyment of Scripture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), speaks of the Hebrew term *melītzāh*, "which might be translated 'metaphor,' or even 'allegory'," in relation to Proverbs 1:6, the one place the word occurs in the book(p. 210). This is the only suggestion of allegory that Sandmel makes in his discussion the historical context of the wisdom books.

Notes to Chapter Two

[1] J. J. Conybeare, *Illustration of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, ed. W. D. Conybeare (London: 1826; rpt. New York: Haskell, 1964), p. 244.

[2] Morton W. Bloomfield, "Understanding Old English Poetry," *Annuale Mediaevale*, 9 (1968), 23.

[3] Bloomfield, p. 23.

[4] In discussing *The Wanderer*, I use the terms "wanderer," "speaker," and "poet" virtually interchangeably. The poet speaks through the figure of the wanderer and the fictional wanderer describes the exile and lets the wise man speak for him. There are three levels of figures: the exile and the wise man overlie the wanderer; the wanderer overlies the poet; but all are used by the poet to express wisdom. This understanding of the relationship between the various voices of the poem is an extension of Rosemary Woolf's comment that the voices of the poet and the wanderer mingle. See Woolf, "*The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, and the Genre of *Planctus*," in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, ed. Nicholson and Frese (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), p. 198.

[5] Susie Tucker expresses such satisfaction in "Return to *The Wanderer*," *Essays in Criticism*, 8 (1958), 229-37.

[6] There has been some discussion of the forms of Old English wisdom poetry, but it has been modest and primarily applied to "minor poems." See, for example, R. MacGregor Dawson, "The Structure of the Old English Gnomic Poems," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 61 (1962), 14-22; Lynn L. Remly, "The Anglo-Saxon Gnomes as Sacred Poetry," *Folklore*, 82 (1971), 147-58; Nigel Barley, "A Structural Approach to the Proverb and Maxim with Special Reference to the Anglo-Saxon Corpus," *Proverbium*, 20 (1972), 737-750; Michael S. Fukuchi, "Gnomic Statements in Old English Poetry," *Neophililogus*, 59 (1975), 610-613; Elaine Tuttle Hansen, "*Precepts*: An Old English Instruction," *Speculum*, 56 (1981), 1-16; and, Judith A. Vaughan-Sterling, "The Anglo-Saxon *Metrical Charms*: Poetry as Ritual," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 82 (1983), 186-200.

[7] James L. Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981), pp. 12-14.

[8] In the earlier part of the manuscript, the opening twenty-nine lines of Guthlac have been thought by some critics to suit better the close of Christ (see Krapp and Dobbie, p. xxx). The blending of the poems is so clear that it has led S. A. J. Bradley, trans., Anglo-Saxon Poetry (London: Dent, 1982), to suggest that it is a "sign of thoughtful organization of the codex" (p. 248). A similar blending may be seen at the end of Juliana, as is discussed in the present chapter, and at the end of The Wanderer. The last four lines of The Wanderer might be read as a part of The Gifts of Men with no harm to the sense of the latter:

> Til biþ se þe his treow gehealdeþ, ne sceal naefre his torn to rycene
> beorn of his breostum acyþan, nemþe he aer þa bote cunne,
> eorl mid elne gefremman. Wel bið þam þe him are seceð,
> frofre to faeder on heofonum, þaer us eal seo faestnung stondeð. (Wanderer, 112-15)
>
> Fela bið on foldan fordgesynra
> geongra geofona, þa þa gaestberend
> wegað in gewitte, swa her weoruda god,
> meotud meahtum swið, monnum daeleð,
> syleð sundorgiefe, sendeð wide
> agne sped, þara aeghwylc mot
> dryhtwuniendra dael onfon. (Gifts of Men, 1-7)

(It will be well for him who holds his pledge and who never gives voice too quickly to the anger of his heart unless he already knows the remedy for his troubles, how to achieve with courage. It will be well for him who seeks mercy, the comfort of the father in Heaven, where security waits for us all. Many and clearly visible are the newly made gifts on the earth which spirit-bearers hold in their intelligence, as the Lord of Hosts, God, with his great might distributes to men, he gives various gifts, sends them wide by his own power, and each of those who dwell in society may receive a share.)

[9] Roland E. Murphy, Wisdom Literature, Vol. XIII of The Forms of the Old Testament Literature (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), p. 3.

[10] Murphy describes the proverb, the experiential saying, the didactic saying, the command, and the prohibition. He is vague as to whether these are genres themselves or only formal elements of genres which he later mentions: instruction, disputation, summary-appraisal. The proverb is a pithy statement of a "conclusion from experience." The experiential saying is a description of something as it is. The didactic saying "characterizes a certain act or attitude in such a way as to influence human conduct. The terms "command" and "prohibition" are self-explanatory. These "generic distinctions

are based on more than simple formal considerations, taking into account the intention of the speaker and the content of the statement (pp. 4-6).

[11] Samuel Sandmel, *The Enjoyment of Scripture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 237.

[12] See Krapp and Dobbie, pp. xxv-xxix, and Albert S. Cook, ed., *The Christ of Cynewulf* (Boston: Gin, 1900; rpt. Hamdon: Archon, 1964).

[13] See Krapp and Dobbie, p. xxv, and N. F. Blake, ed., *The Phoenix* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964), pp. 8-13.

[14] See Krapp and Dobbie, p. 1.

[15] See Krapp and Dobbie, pp. liv-lv.

[16] James E. Anderson, "*Deor*, *Wulf and Eadwacer*, and *The Soul's Address*: How and Where the Old English Exeter Book Riddles Begin," in *The Old English Elegies*, ed. Martin Green (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1983), pp. 204-230.

[17] See Krapp and Dobbie, p. lxiii.

[18] See Krapp and Dobbie, p. 1.

[19] See *The Exeter Book Facsimile*, p. 61.

[20] See Dorothy K. Coveney, "The Ruling of the *Exeter Book*," *Scriptorium*, 12 (1958), 52.

[21] Coveney, p. 52.

[22] *The Exeter Book Facsimile*, p. 60.

[23] *The Exeter Book Facsimile*, p. 60.

[24] See in particular the capitalized *oft* of *Guthlac*, line 894a (fol. 45b), which is remarkably similar to the opening of *The Wanderer*.

[25] Krapp and Dobbie take this to be true, p. xiii.

[26] *The Exeter Book Facsimile*, p. 65.

[27] Stanley B. Greenfield, "The Formulaic Expression of the theme of 'exile' in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 200-6. *Deprivation* is signified by Cynewulf's *þearf*

micel 'great need'(695) and by his reference to being 'dealt away from all his dearest ones' (697). His *state of mind* is clear from references to 'sorrow' (709 and 718) and to 'lamentation' (703 and 711b-12a). Movement in or into exile is represented by the verb *siþedan* 'journeyed' (714), for example. The last element, *status*, is provided by Cynewulf's position as a poet; this is not the usual status of an exile, but the shorter poems often describe the *þearf* 'need' of the Old English poets.

[28] Bruce Mitchell, "More Musings on Old English Syntax," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 69 (1968), 53-63.

[29] Brian K. Green, "The Twilight Kingdom: Structure and Meaning in *The Wanderer*," *Neophilologus*, 60 (1976), 442-51.

[30] One might compare Victor Gollancz, *Man and God: Passages chosen and arranged to express a mood about the human and divine* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951).

[31] Robert P. Creed has argued that *Widsith* is in fact "a tantalizing, sophisticated and profound sort of riddle," "Widsith's Journey Through Germanic Tradition," in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, ed. Nicholson and Frese, p. 387.

[32] E. G. Stanley reads *gaestlic* as 'spiritual': "Old English Poetic Diction and the Interpretation of *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer* and *The Penitent's Prayer*," *Anglia*, 73 (1955), 462. The generally accepted meaning in this context, however, is 'ghastly.'

[33] See, for example, James L. Crenshaw's discussion of the development of modern critical understanding of wisdom literature, in which he describes definitions of wisdom as "a mirror image of the scholar painting her portrait." *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* (New York: KTAV, 1976), pp. 3-5.

[34] Kenneth Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 97.

[35] S. A. J. Bradley, p. 202.

[36] A. A. Prins, "*The Wanderer* (and *The Seafarer*)," *Neophilologus*, 48 (1964), 238.

[37] Bradley, p. 202.

[38] Henri Cazelles, "Bible, sagesse, science," *Recherches de science religieuse*, 48 (1960), 42-43.

[39] See B. K. Green, pp. 443-4.

[40] Crenshaw, "Method in Determining Wisdom Influence upon 'Historical' Literature," Journal of Biblical Literature, 88 (1969), 129-142.

[41] The compound hrimgicelum occurs nowhere but here, in line 17a of The Seafarer. The literal meaning is 'frost-icicle.' If the reader allows his imagination only a little room, the word seems to refer clearly to the frozen breath on the seafarer's beard, a detail which certainly focuses the picture, and which would be expected in a description of a man in an open boat on a winter sea.

[42] See Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry, pp. 120-121, and Lee, The Guest Hall of Eden, pp. 13-14.

[43] John Milton, Paradise Lost, Book I, line 24.

[44] See Craig Williamson, ed., The Old English Riddles of The Exeter Book (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), p. 360.

[45] The description of the solution as companion of warrior and king, as something the noble woman sometimes takes, as riding with warriors, and as giving the gift of song to the wodbora might easily be seen as a description of mead. The half-line heard is min tunge 'hard is my tongue,' may be intended to confuse as heard not only had the modern sense "hard" but also the sense of "bold." We know from Beowulf 2040 ff., for example, that drink makes a man bold and sometimes over-bold.

[46] Huppé, The Web of Words, p. 36.

[47] See "Scop and Woðbora in Old English Poetry," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 77 (1978), 317-29; "Was Widsiþ a Scop?", Neophilologus, 64 (1980), 583-91; and "On the Identity of the Wanderer," in The Old English Elegies, ed. Martin Green (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1983), 82-95. As well, Neil D. Issacs in "Up a Tree: To See The Fates of Men," in Anglo-Saxon Poetry, ed. Nicholson and Frese (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), pp. 362-75 has shown the possibility of remembrances of shamanistic rites in at least one Exeter Book poem.

[48] Hollowell, "On the Identity of the Wanderer," p. 87.

[49] Hollowell, "On the Identity of the Wanderer," p. 94

[50] Hollowell, "On the Identity of the Wanderer," pp. 87-8 and 93-4.

[51] In relation to the discussion of the wanderer as woðbora, it is interesting to note that Mary Stewart in her novel The Last Enchantment (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979 places a recast version of The Wanderer into the mouth of a fine personification of the concept of woðbora, Merlin (p. 104).

[52] Hollowell, "On the Identity of the Wanderer," p. 89.

[53] Neil D. Isaacs, in his Structural Principles in Old English Poetry (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1968), pp. 56-70, has presented an unusual discussion of The Riming Poem. The discussion is heavily influenced by the cinema (he describes the poem as being successful only so far as it makes comments on its failure, "like l'Aventura," Italian director Michelangelo Antonioni's 1960 film). Isaacs sees The Riming Poem as "self consciously concerned with fairly basic problems of art" (p. 57); this last phrase is descriptive of much European cinema of the sixties. Isaacs' description of a "Wordsworthian method" and a "Wordsworthian problem" (p. 69), together with his quotation of line 186 of the "Immortality Ode," betrays an ill-founded romanticism in his approach to early medieval literature. Isaacs deemphasizes the generality and religious nature of The Riming Poem, choosing rather to see a somewhat agonized and overly cinematic description of the decay of a poet's mind.

[54] Krapp and Dobbie, p. xlix.

[55] Bradley, p. 351.

[56] I prefer the manuscript reading heowsiþum to Krapp and Dobbie's heofsiþum 'times of grief.' I take heowsiþum to be a compound of heow (hiw) 'radiance, brightness' and siþ 'time, occasion.

Notes to Chapter Three

[1] Alain Renoir, "The Least Elegiac of the Elegies: a Contextual Glance at The Husband's Message," Studia Neophilologica, 53 (1981), 70.

[2] W. W. Lawrence, "The Wanderer and The Seafarer," Journal of Germanic Philology, 4 (1902), 460-80.

[3] Roger Fowler, "A Theme in The Wanderer," Medium Aevum, 36 (1967), 2.

[4] Eugene R. Kintgen, "Wordplay in 'The Wanderer'," Neophilologus, 59 (1975), 127.

[5] John C. Pope, "Dramatic Voices in The Wanderer and The Seafarer," in Franciplegius, ed. J. B. Bessinger, Jr. and Robert P. Creed (New York: New York University Press, 1965); rpt. in Old English Literature: Twenty-Two Analytical Essays, ed. M. Stevens and J. Mandel (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968), p. 165.

[6] Stanley B. Greenfield, "Min, Sylf and 'Dramatic Voices in The Wanderer and The Seafarer'," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 68 (1969), 215-17.

[7] Bernard F. Huppé, "The Wanderer: Theme and Structure," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 42 (1943), 537.

[8] Bruce Mitchell has argued this point in response to R. F. Leslie and Greenfield: "The martyr in the Coliseum and Christian who died painfully of cancer yesterday undoubtedly shared a steadfast hope and faith in God's mercy without experiencing relief from the cares of this world and the agonies of a cruel death." "Some Syntactical Problems in The Wanderer," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 69, (1968), 174-5.

[9] R. F. Leslie suggests in the introduction to his edition that the use of the third person to describe personal experience was common in Old English. But the description is, as Leslie points out, used "to generalize personal experience in an impersonal form" (p. 7).

[10] S. A. J. Bradley, in the introduction to his translation of The Wanderer suggests that the wanderer takes the role of teacher: "Hearers of the poem, led vicariously through the ex-

periencing of this rational process, are thus tutored--as Bede says Caedmon's audience was tutored by his didactic poetry . . . --to share in its insights and perhaps gain for themselves that gift of grace. . . ." *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London: Dent, 1982), p. 322.

[11] Thomas C. Rumble, "From *Eardstapa* to *Snottor on Mode*: The Structural Principle of 'The Wanderer'," *Modern Language Quarterly*, 19 (1958), 225-30. Rumble does not himself deal with the precise meaning of *gebided*.

[12] Mitchell, "Syntactical Problems," 172-5.

[13] Dunning and Bliss, like Leslie, in their edition of the poem choose "experiences" as the appropriate alternative.

[14] R. K. Gordon, trans., *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London: Dent, 1926; rev. 1954), p. 73.

[15] Rosemary Woolf, "*The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer* and the Genre of *Planctus*," in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, ed. L. E. Nicholson and D. W. Frese (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), pp. 197-8.

[16] There has been a good deal of discussion of *The Wanderer*'s use of the common medieval concept of a wandererering mind or soul. See, for example: Vivian Salmon, "'The Wanderer' and 'The Seafarer,' and the Old English Conception of the Soul," *Modern Language Review*, 55 (1960), 1-10; Peter Clemoes, "*Mens absentia cogitans* in *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*," in *Medieval Literature and Civilization*, ed. D. A. Pearsall and W. A. Waldron (London: Athlone Press, 1969), pp. 62-77; James F. Doubleday, "The Three Faculties of the Soul in *The Wanderer*," *Neophilologus*, 53 (1969), 189-94; and Neil Hultin, "The External Soul in 'The Seafarer' and 'The Wanderer'," *Folklore*, 88 (1977), 39-45.

[17] Bliss and Dunning, p. 105.

[18] Woolf, p. 198.

[19] Mitchell, "Syntactical Problems," pp. 175-78.

[20] Gerald Richman, "Speaker and Speech Boundaries in *The Wanderer*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 81 (1982), 469-79.

[21] Rumble, p. 229.

[22] The time and space of *The Wanderer* are not realistically determined: the speaker moves effortlessly through both.

[23] Mitchell, "More Musings on Old English Syntax," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 69 (1968), 53-5.

[24] Mitchell, "Musings," argues that this phrase "might be merely conventional" (p. 55), citing The Dream of the Rood, l. 28. Mitchell claims that in his example "it is not necessary to believe that a long period has elapsed," but line 28 of The Dream of the Rood, þaet waes geara iu, (ic þaet gyta geman) 'that was a long time ago, (I remember it yet)' is the beginning of the Cross' description of its own making. If one assumes that the Cross which speaks is the same as that which remembers the rediscovery by St. Helena in lines 75 ff., one must assume that a good deal of time, centuries in fact, has passed since the making of the Cross. In fact, if one assumes, as is reasonable, that the Cross speaks in the dreamer's one time, something after the beginning of the eighth century, the geara iu which the Cross remembers must be some seven hundred years or more in the past. Contrary to Mitchell's argument, one must assume that a long period has elapsed.

The phrase geara iu is used six times in poetry, twice outside the Exeter Book. In Guthlac, 40a, the phrase looks back from the time of the poet to the times of the Prophets, a separation of perhaps a millenium. In Vainglory, 57a, the phrase refers to the time of the war in Heaven, before the creation of the world itself. In The Order of the World, 11a, the phrase again harks back to the Prophets. The only other example outside the Exeter Book occurs in the first Meter of Boethius. On this occasion the phrase looks back from the time of Boethius (c. 480-524) to the time the Goths made war out of Scythia under Aleric (early 400's). Only in this last case is the span of time described within a man's normal life, and even here it must be seen as several decades. This is clearly what we must see between the death of his lord and the time the wanderer finally speaks.

[25] James H. Wilson in Christian Theology and Old English Poetry (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1974), pp. 77-9, in agreement with R. K. Gordon's translation of The Wanderer, argues that the transition passage implies a return to faith. William Alfred, "The Drama of The Wanderer," in The Wisdom of Poetry, ed. L. D. Benson and S. Wenzel (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1982), p. 39, also reads the passage this way.

[26] Elizabeth A. Hait, "The Wanderer's Lingering Regret: A Study of Patterns of Imagery," Neophilologus, 68 (1984), 278-291, emphasizes the fact that at the end of the poem "one is left with the feeling that although the Wanderer realizes that his hope for security lies with God, he is still held by his memories, though weaker now, of the past" (288). This reaction to the poem seems unavoidable, but Hait's related view that the

poem documents a shift which at the end of the poem is "not yet complete" (287) ignores the possibility that the poet genuinely values the earthly, that he, like the poet of *Precepts*, sees wisdom and sorrow going hand in hand.

[27] The storm reappears in more detail in lines 102-105, along with the coming of night.

[28] Thomas Rendall, "Bondage and Freeing from Bondage in Old English Religious Poetry," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 73 (1974), 497. Another study of the bondage image is Paul Beekman Taylor, "Charms of *Wynn* and Fetters of *Wyrd* in *The Wanderer*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 73 (1972), 448-55.

[29] S. L. Clark and J. N. Wasserman, "The Imagery of 'The Wanderer'," *Neophilologus*, 63 (1979), 291.

[30] While most editors agree to interpret *gebind* as 'expanse,' Malmberg's argument that, while it is not realistically applicable to the situation, the sense "binding of the waves, frozen waves" is thematically appropriate and linguistically more likely. See Lars Malmberg, "*The Wanderer*: *Waþema Gebind*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 71 (1970), 96-9.

[31] Martin Green, in "Man, Time, and Apocalypse in *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, and Beowulf," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 74 (1975), 502-18, has shown the likely place of *The Wanderer* in an apocalyptic tradition. See also Graham D. Caie, *The Judgement Day Theme in Old English Poetry* (Copenhagen: Nova, 1976), p. 165.

[32] The verb in line 74 is present, but the future meaning is provided by the relative *þonne* 'when.

[33] John Burrow, "'The Wanderer': Lines 73-87," *Notes and Queries*, 210 (1965), 166-8.

[34] Burrow, pp. 167-8.

[35] See for example, Alfred J. Wyatt, ed., *An Anglo-Saxon Reader* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1919), p. 146.

[36] The fact that the wise man *feor oft gemon / wealsleahta worn* 'often remembers many deadly blows' (90b-91a), suggests that, contrary to Mitchell's argument, a large space of time separates the wanderer from his personal hardship surrounding the death of his lord.

[37] Whereas Leslie takes the wise man's words to end at line 96, and Dunning and Bliss take the whole passage to be

the direct speech of the wanderer introduced by what they take to be the poet's words in lines 88-91, I read the passage to be the words of a "straw man" whose words continue to line 110. Line 11, which has generally been seen as the poet's "stage directions" may then be taken as those of the wanderer. This leaves lines 6 and 7 as the only poetic interjection, but they too might be the words of the wanderer. Richman, "Speech boundaries," p. 469 argues that in lines 6-7 and line 111 "the poet unarguably speaks in his own voice," but the argument can be made. The result is to see the entire poem as the words of a fictitious character who begins by quoting a typical exile and spends a good deal of time late in the poem quoting a typical wise man.

Richman paraphrases the argument put forward by Dunning and Bliss concerning lines 6-7 and 111, and then suggests that the logical conclusion is "that lines 6-7 refer to lines 1-5, and line 111 to lines 92-110 or 1-110" (p. 475). Richman's own later argument for a dual retrospective and prospective function of lines 6-7 and 111 is not ironclad, as he himself admits (p. 479). But to read these lines as retrospective words of the wanderer himself solves many of the problems inherent in requiring poetic intervention at only two points in the poem.

[38] See for example: Walter Hoyt French, "The Wanderer 98: *Wyrmlicum Fah*," *Modern Language Notes*, 67 (1952), 526-9; Robert O. Bowen, "The Wanderer 98," *Explicator*, 13 (1954-55), item 26; Christopher Dean, "*Weal Wundrum Heah, Wyrmlicum Fah* and the Narrative Background of *The Wanderer*," *Modern Philology*, 63 (1965-6), 141-3; and Tony Millns, "*The Wanderer* 98: 'Weal Wundrum Heah Wyrmlicum Fah'," *Review of English Studies*, 28 (1977), 431-8.

[39] The "wall of death" is a theme which often appears in scenes involving death in Old English poetry. Perhaps the most surprising instance of its appearance is after the Crossing of the Red Sea in *Exodus*: *Gesawon hie þaer weallas standan, / ealle him brimu blodife þuhton, þurh þa heora beado searo waegon* "They saw walls standing, the seas seemed all bloody to them, through which they had carried their battle gear" (572b-73).

[40] See: D. K. Crowne, "The Hero on the Beach: An Example of Composition by Theme in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 61 (1960), 362-72; Donald K. Fry, "The hero on the Beach in 'Finnsburh'," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 67 (1966), 27-31, and "The Heroine on the Beach in *Judith*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 68 (1967), 168-84.

[41] See Alain Renoir, "Oral Formulaic Theme Survival: A Possible Instance in the *Nibelungenlied*," *Neophilologische*

Mitteilungen, 65 (1964), 70-75.

[42] Raymond P. Tripp, in "The Narrator as Revenant: A Reconsideration of Three Old English Elegies," Papers on Language and Literature, 8 (1972), 339-61, has argued that the wanderer is in fact a revenant related to those in popular ballads of later centuries. Tripp's argument is badly marred by very eccentric translations.

[43] Susie I Tucker, "Return to The Wanderer," Essays in Criticism, 8 (1958), 236.

[44] D. W. Robertson argues that by the end of the poem, the poet has "condemned as foolish the improper love of the world" in "Historical Criticism," in English Institute Essays, 1950 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. 22.

[45] Thomas P. Campbell, "The Treasure Motif in Four Old English Religious Elegies," Laurentian University Review, 2 No. 2 (1969), 47.

[46] W. P. Ker, in The Dark Ages (New York: Nelson, 1904), writes "The Riddle becomes a shifting vision of all the different aspects in which the creature may be found" (p. 93).

[47] Alvin Lee, in The Guest-Hall of Eden (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972), writes of the saints' lives, or "narrative romances": "Their concern is with the world after the Ascension and before Doomsday, that world sketched briefly in Cynewulf's Fates of the Apostles where demonic forces still operate and therefore make necessary, from the champions of Christ's Church, heroic or saint-like actions" (p. 82).

[48] Deor, one of the two Old English poems containing a refrain, presents a number of situations from Germanic mythology which were troublesome to individuals of the age. The refrain is þaes ofereode, þisses swa maeg 'that passed away, so may this.'

Augustine describes God's Providence in terms of poetry when explaining the presence of evil in God's world: ". . . God would never have created a man, let alone an angel, in the foreknowledge of his future evil state, if he had not known at the same time how he would put such creatures to good use, and thus enrich the course of world history by the kind of antithesis which gives beauty to a poem" The City of God, trans. Henry Bettenson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 449. Augustine clearly indicates that God intends good to grow out of all evil states. The persecution of Deor and the destitution of the wanderer will be relieved, as both poems clearly tell the reader.

[49] T. A. Shippey, Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English (Cambridge: Brewer, 1976), p. 11.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

A. Facsimile Edition

The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry. With introductory chapters by R. W. Chambers, M. Förster, and Robin Flower.

B. Editions

Cook, Albert S., ed. The Christ of Cynewulf. 1900; rpt. Hamden: Archon, 1964.

Dunning, T. P., and A. J. Bliss, eds. The Wanderer. London: Methuen, 1969.

Gollancz, I., ed. The Exeter Book, part I. London: Kegan Paul, 1895.

Grein, C., ed. Bibliothek der angelsachsischen Poesie, Gottingen: 1857.

Krapp, George Philip, and Elliot Van Kirk Dobbie, eds. The Exeter Book. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936.

Leslie, Roy F., ed. The Wanderer. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966.

Mackie, W. S., ed. The Exeter Book, part II. London: Oxford University Press, 1934.

Thorpe, Benjamin, ed. Codex Exoniensis. London: Society of Antiquaries, 1842.

Williamson, Craig, ed. The Old English Riddles of The Exeter Book. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977.

C. Translations

Bradley, S. A. J. Anglo-Saxon Poetry. London: Dent, 1982.

The Catholic Biblical Association of America. The New American Bible. New York: Nelson, 1971.

Gordon, R. K. Anglo-Saxon Poetry. London: Dent, 1926; rev. 1954.

Secondary Sources

Alfred, William. "The Drama of The Wanderer." In The Wisdom of Poetry. Ed. L. D. Benson and S. Wenzel. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1982, pp. 31-44.

Anderson, James E. "Deor, Wulf and Eadwacer, and The Soul's Address: How and Where the Old English Exeter Book Riddles Begin." In The Old English Elegies. Ed. Martin Green. London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1983, pp. 204-230.

Barley, Nigel. "A Structural Approach to the Proverb and Maxim with Special Reference to the Anglo-Saxon Corpus." Proverbium, 20 (1972), 737-50.

Bloomfield, Morton W. "Understanding Old English Poetry." Annuale Mediaevale, 9 (1968), 5-25.

Boer, R. C. "Wanderer und Seefahrer." Zeitschrift fur deutsche Philologie, 35 (1903), 1-28.

Bowen, Robert O. "The Wanderer, 98." Explicator, 13 (1954-5), item 26.

Burrow, John. "'The Wanderer': Lines 73-87." Notes and Queries, 210 (1965), 166-8.

Campbell, Thomas P. "The Treasure Motif in Four Old English Religious Elegies." Laurentian University Review, 2, No. 2 (1969), 45-58.

Cazelles, Henri. "Bible, sagesse, science." Recherches de science religieuse, 48 (1960), 40-54.

Cherniss, Michael D. Ingeld and Christ. The Hague: Mouton, 1972.

Clark, S. L., and J. N. Wasserman. "The Imagery of The Wanderer." Neophilologus, 63 (1979), 291-6.

Clemoes, Peter A. M. "Mens absentia cogitans in The Seafarer and The Wanderer." In Medieval Literature and Civilization. Ed. D. A. Pearsall and R. A. Waldron. London: Athlone, 1969, 62-77.

Conybeare, J. J. Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry. Ed. W. D. Conybeare. 1826; rpt. New York: Haskell, 1964.

Coveney, Dorothy K. "The Ruling of the Exeter Book." Scriptorium, 12 (1958), 51-55.

Creed, Robert P. "Widsith's Journey Through Germanic Tradition." In *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*. Ed. L. E. Nicholson and D. W. Frese. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975, pp. 376-87.

Crenshaw, J. L. "Method in Determining Wisdom Influence upon 'Historical' Literature." *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 88 (1969), 129-42.

----------. *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom*. New York: KTAV, 1976.

----------. *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction*. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981.

Cross, J. E. "On the Genre of *The Wanderer*." *Neophilologus*, 45 (1961), 63-75.

----------. "On *The Wanderer*, Lines 80-84: A Study of a Figure and a Theme." *Vetenskaps-societeten i Lund Arsbok* (1958-9), 75-110.

Crowne, D. K. "The Hero on the Beach: An Example of Composition by Theme in Anglo-Saxon Poetry." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 61 (1960), 362-72.

Dawson, R. MacGregor. "The Structure of the Old English Gnomic Poems." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 61 (1962), 14-22.

Dean, Christopher. "*Weal Wundrum Heah, Wyrmlicum Fah*, and the Narrative Background of *The Wanderer*." *Modern Philology*, 63 (1965-6), 141-3.

Diekstra, F. N. M. "*The Wanderer* 65b-72: The Passions of the Mind and the Cardinal Virtues." *Neophilologus*, 55 (1971), 73-88.

Doubleday, J. F. "The Three Faculties of the Soul in *The Wanderer*." *Neophilologus*, 53 (1969), 189-94.

----------. "The Limits of Philosophy: A Reading of *The Wanderer*." *Notre Dame English Journal*, 7, No. 2 (1972), 14-22.

Elliott, R. W. V. "The Wanderer's Conscience." *English Studies*, 39 (1958), 193-200.

Ferrell, C. C. "Old Germanic Life in the Anglo-Saxon 'Wanderer' and 'Seafarer'." *Modern Language Notes*, 9 (1894), 201-4.

Fowler, R. "A Theme in *The Wanderer*." *Medium Aevum*, 36 (1967), 1-14.

French, W. H. "The Wanderer 98: *Wyrmlicum Fah*." *Modern Language Notes*, 67 (1952), 526-9.

Frey, Leonard H. "Exile and Elegy in Anglo-Saxon Christian Epic Poetry." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 62 (1963), 293-302.

Fry, Donald K. "The Hero on the Beach in 'Finnsburh'." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 67 (1966), 27-31.

----------. "The Heroine on the Beach in *Judith*." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 68 (1967), 168-84.

----------. "Old English Formulaic Themes and Type-Scenes." *Neophilologus*, 52 (1968), 48-54.

Fukuchi, M. S. "Gnomic Statements in Old English Poetry." *Neophilologus*, 59 (1975), 610-613.

Gollancz, Victor, ed. *Man and God: Passages chosen and arranged to express a mood about the human and divine*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951.

Green, B. K. "The Twilight Kingdom: Structure and Meaning in *The Wanderer*." *Neophilologus* 60 (1976), 442-51.

Green, Martin. "Man, Time, and Apocalypse in *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, and *Beowulf*." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 74 (1975), 502-18.

Greenfield, Stanley B. "*The Wanderer*: A Reconsideration of Theme and Structure." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 50 (1951), 451-65.

----------"*The Wife's Lament* Reconsidered." *PMLA*, 68 (1953), 907-12.

----------. "The Theme of Spiritual Exile in *Christ I*." *Philological Quarterly*, 32 (1953), 321-8.

----------. *A Critical History of Old English Literature*. New York: New York University Press, 1965.

----------. "The Old English Elegies." In *Continuations and Beginnings*. Ed. Eric G. Stanley. London: Nelson, 1966, pp. 142-75.

----------. "The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of 'Exile' in Anglo-Saxon Poetry." *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 200-206.

----------. "*Min*, *Sylf*, and 'Dramatic Voices in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*'." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 68 (1969), 212-220.

Hait, Elizabeth A. "The Wanderer's Lingering Regret: A Study of Patterns of Imagery." *Neophilologus*, 68 (1984), 278-91.

Hanson, Elain Tuttle. "*Precepts*: An Old English Instruction." *Speculum*, 56 (1981), 1-16.

Henry, P. L. *The Early English and Celtic Lyrics*. London: Unwin, 1966.

Hollowell, Ida Masters. "On the Identity of the Wanderer." In *The Old English Elegies*. Ed. Martin Green. London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1983, pp. 82-95.

----------. "*Scop* and *Woðbora* in Old English Poetry." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 77 (1978), 317-29.

----------. "Was Widsiþ a *Scop*?" *Neophilologus*, 64 (1980), 583-91.

Hultin, Neil. "The External Soul in *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*." *Folklore*, 88 (1977), 39-45.

Huppé, B. F. "The *Wanderer*: Theme and Structure." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 42 (1943), 516-38.

----------. *Doctrine and Poetry: Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1959.

----------. *The Web of Words*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1970.

Isaacs, N. D. *Structural Principles in Old English Poetry*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1968.

----------. "Up a Tree: To See *The Fates of Men*." In *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*. Ed. L. E. Nicholson and D. W. Frese. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1975, pp. 363-75.

Johnson, W. C., Jr. "The *Ruin* as Body-City Riddle." *Philological Quarterly*, 59 (1980), 397-411.

Ker, N. R. *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.

Kintgen, E. R. "Wordplay in *The Wanderer*." *Neophilologus*, 59

(1975), 119-27.

Klein, W. F. "Purpose and the 'Poetics' of *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*." In *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*. Ed. L. E. Nicholson and D. W. Frese. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1975, pp. 208-23.

Lawrence, W. W. "*The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*." *Journal of Germanic Philology*, 4 (1902), 460-80.

Lee, Alvin A. *The Guest-Hall of Eden*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972.

Lloyd, L. J. *The Library of Exeter Cathedral*. Exeter: University of Exeter, 1967.

Lumiansky, R. M. "The Dramatic Structure of the Old English *Wanderer*." *Neophilologus*, 34 (1950, 104-12.

Malmberg, Lars. "*The Wanderer*: *Waþema Gebind*. *Neophilologische Mitteilungen*, 71 (1970), 96-9.

Millns, Tony. "*The Wanderer* 98: 'Weal wundrum heah wyrmlicum fah'." *Review of English Studies*, 28 (1977), 431-38.

Mitchell Bruce. "An Old English Syntactical Reverie: *The Wanderer*, Lines 22 and 34-36." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 68 (1967), 139-49.

----------. "More Musings on Old English Syntax." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 69 (1968), 53-63.

----------. "Some Syntactical Problems in *The Wanderer*." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 69 (1968), 172-98.

Mullen, Karen A. "*The Wanderer*: Considered Again." *Neophilologus*, 58 (1974), 74-81.

Murphey, R. E. *Wisdom Literature*. The Forms of the Old Testament Literature. Vol. 13. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981.

Osborn, Marijane. "The Vanishing Seabirds in *The Wanderer*." *Folklore*, 85 (1974), 122-7.

Peters, R. A. "Philosophy and Theme of the Old English Poem 'The Exile'." *Neophilologus*, 65 (1981), 288-91.

Pope, J. C. "Dramatic Voices in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*." In *Franciplegius*. Ed. J. B. Bessinger and R. P. Creed. New York: New York University Press, 1965, pp. 164-93.

----------. "Second Thoughts on the Interpretation of The Seafarer." Anglo-Saxon England, 3 (1974), 75-86.

Prins, A. A. "The Wanderer (and the Seafarer)." Neophilologus, 48 (1964), 373-8.

Remly, Lynn l. "The Anglo-Saxon Gnomes as Sacred Poetry." Folklore, 82 (1971), 147-58.

Rendall, Thomas N. "Bondage and Freeing from Bondage in Old English Religious Poetry." Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 73 (1974), 497-512.

Renoir, Alain. "Oral Formulaic Theme Survival: A Possible Instance in the Nibelungenlied." Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 65 (1964), 70-75.

Renoir, Alain. "The Least Elegiac of the Elegies: a Contextual Glance at The Husband's Message." Studia Neophilologica, 53 (1981), 67-76.

Richman, Gerald. "Speaker and Speech Boundaries in The Wanderer." Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 81 (1982), 469-79.

Robertson, Durant W. "Historical Criticism." In English Institute Essays, 1950. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951, pp. 3-31.

Rollinson, Philip B. "The Influence of Christian doctrine and exegesis on Old English poetry: an estimate of the current state of scholarship." Anglo-Saxon England, 2 (1973), 271-84.

Rosier, James L. "The Literal-Figurative Identity of The Wanderer." PMLA, 79 (1964), 366-9.

Rumble, T. C. "From Eardstapa to Snottor on Mode: The Structural Principle of 'The Wanderer'." Modern Language Quarterly, 19 (1958), 225-30.

Salmon, Vivian. "The Wanderer and The Seafarer, and the Old English Conception of the Soul." Modern Language Review, 55 (1960), 1-10.

Sandmel, Samuel. The Enjoyment of Scripture. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Shippey, T. A. Old English Verse. London: Hutchinson, 1972.

----------. Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English.

Cambridge: Brewer, 1976.

Sisam, Kenneth. *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953.

Smithers, George V. "The Meaning of *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*." *Medium Aevum*, 26 (1957), 137-53, and 28 (1959), 1-22, 99-104.

Stanley, Eric G. "Old English Poetic Diction and the Interpretation of *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, and *The Penitent's Prayer*." *Anglia*, 73 (1955), 413-66.

----------. "The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism." *Notes and Queries*, 209 (1964), 204-9, 242-50, 282-7, 324-31, 455-63; 210 (1965), 9-17, 203-7, 285-93, 322-7. Rpt. Cambridge: Brewer, 1975.

Stewart, Mary. *The Last Enchantment*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979.

Taylor, P. B. "Charms of *Wynn* and Fetters of *Wyrd* in *The Wanderer*." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 73 (1972), 448-55.

Timmer, B. J. "*Wyrd* in Anglo-Saxon Prose and Poetry." *Neophilologus*, 26 (1941), 24-33 and 213-28.

----------. "The Elegiac Mood in Old English Poetry." *English Studies*, 24 (1942), 33-44.

----------. "Sectional Divisions of Poems in Old English Manuscripts." *Modern Language Review*, 47 (1952), 319-22.

Tripp, Raymond P. "The Narrator as Revenant: A Reconsideration of Three Old English Elegies." *Papers on Language and Literature*, 8 (1972), 339-61.

Tucker, Susie I. Return to *The Wanderer*." *Essays in Criticism*, 8 (1958), 229-37.

Vaughan-Sterling, Judith A. "The Anglo-Saxon *Metrical Charms*: Poetry as Ritual." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 82 (1983), 186-200.

Wanley, Humfrey. *Antiquae Literaturae Septentrionalis*. Oxford: Sheldon, 1705; rpt. New York and Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970.

Whitelock, Dorothy. "The Interpretation of *The Seafarer*." In *The Early Cultures of North-West Europe*. Ed. Sir Cyril

Fox and Bruce Dickins. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950, pp. 261-72.

Wilson, J. H. Christian Theology and Old English Poetry. The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1974.

Woolf, Rosemary. "The Wanderer, The Seafarer, and the Genre of Planctus." In Anglo-Saxon Poetry. Ed. L. E. Nicholson and D. W. Frese. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1975, pp. 192-207.